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58th Year • An America Press Publication

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One Year—\$3.00

Two Years—\$5.00

Foreign—\$3.50 Yearly

JAN.-FEB., 1960

VOL. LVIII, No. 1147

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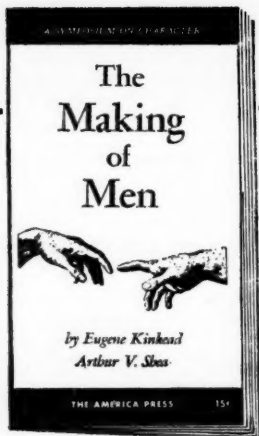
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IN THIS ISSUE

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- Contrasting U.S. immigration laws with the ideals which once made this nation unique, ROBERT H. AMUNDSON finds our current policy does violence to our democratic principles.
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THE CATHOLIC MIND, January-February, 1960. Volume LVIII, No. 1147. Published bi-monthly by The America Press, Grand Central Terminal Building, 70 E. 45 St., New York 17, N.Y. Subscription postpaid: yearly \$3.00; Canada and foreign \$3.50; single copy 50 cents. Second Class Postage paid at New York, N.Y.

The basic issue we face is not primarily population growth but man's ability to modify his cultural and social systems so that the fullest exploitation of the world's resources becomes possible.

The Catholic Position on Population Control*

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.
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St. Louis University*

THE FORMULATION of any position related to ethical issues necessarily implies a set of definite assumptions concerning the nature of the human agent and the requisite qualities of right moral conduct. In practice, Catholic ethical positions tend to be formulated on the basis of principles derived from both reason and faith, though Catholic thinkers have consistently vindicated man's natural ability to discover the basic principles and norms requisite for right moral con-

duct. Since the divine law is manifested in the natures of things, the life of grace itself must build upon nature. Hence, however high above nature Christian ideals may stand, their foundations remain rooted in the laws of nature. The God who is conceived as the model of all perfection is also the God whose laws are manifested in the natures of things.

Because the area of human activity is extremely complex, and because we acquire our knowledge of

*Reprinted from *Daedalus*, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 357 Jefferson Laboratory, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass., Summer, 1959.

human nature and its essential tendencies through observation, there is ample room for development in ethical perspective. The basic premise is that good is to be done and evil avoided is readily grasped in experience, but the application of this principle to specific human acts, depending as it must upon our limited knowledge of tendencies and purposes, is subject to imperfection, error, and development as we proceed to evaluate the more complex areas of human activity. Ethical judgments are practical judgments based upon insights into human situations. Although we benefit from the accumulated insights of the past, we must proceed with caution and humility in seeking to evaluate the evolving complex relationships of the present.

An intelligent judgment concerning the morality of birth control must be based on the logical application of general moral principles to this specific human act. It follows that those who base their considerations in this matter upon different moral principles will necessarily reach different conclusions. For example, the Christian who believes that the human person is a unity of body and soul, endowed with faculties of intellect and will, and possessing an essential relationship of origin, dependence, and destiny to his Creator, will judge the morality of birth control differently from one who maintains that man has no essential qualitative difference from other higher forms of animal life. This point appears to

be all too frequently forgotten in current controversy. Disagreements concerning the licitness of birth control must logically be based on differences concerning basic moral principles, and since these are based on our concept of the nature, origin, and destiny of man, any worthwhile discussion of disagreements must ultimately center on this point.

The premises upon which the Catholic position is based may be summarized briefly as follows. First, there is order in the world, established by a creative intelligence and revealed in the inherent purposes of things as discovered by observing their normal tendencies and operations. Second, as a creature endowed with reason, man achieves the development and perfection of his nature by using things in accord with the order established by the Creator. Third, it follows that men act reasonably when they use for their self-development and perfection all those things in nature which have been placed under their direct dominion. Fourth, the Creator alone is the author and source of life. He has not placed life or the faculties furnishing the co-principles of life under the creature's absolute dominion. Men hold these in trust from the Creator, so that they must respect their own lives and those of others, nor may they destroy them for their own personal satisfaction. They must also respect the integrity of their reproductive faculties and the normal process of the generative act in which they furnish the co-principles of life. The

function of sex (the possession and use of faculties involving the co-principles of life) has been entrusted to men for the good of the species, and right reason demands that it be employed accordingly. Although the sexual act is designed for the propagation of the human race by the Creator, it is also a manifestation of conjugal love and creativity, a means of maintaining a stable, balanced, and affectionate union. Thus, the act has unique symbolic significance.

Population Problems

The praiseworthy success of medical science in achieving the postponement of death has dramatically upset a balance that mankind has hitherto taken generally for granted. What Malthus termed "the prevalence of people" is becoming one of the major challenges we face. Throughout much of the world, unprecedented annual increments of population are creating problems that bid fair to tax human ingenuity and available natural resources to their utmost. Not that we lack either know-how or necessary materials; nature is not as niggardly as the older classical economists appeared to believe. But a world sharply divided between rich and poor nations, rampant with rising nationalism, historically dichotomized into East and West, and ideologically polarized round communism and capitalism, scarcely offers a propitious climate in which to tackle our population problems.

In discussing issues related to

population control, we must distinguish between the speculative, overall problem of world population *vs.* world resources on the one hand, and specific, practical population-resource problems existing in various countries on the other. Among the latter, we must distinguish the problems of industrialized nations like the United States, where the management of large annual surpluses is an outstanding problem, from the problems of underdeveloped countries, where factors not directly related to the economy have induced and promise to maintain increases in population that place a serious strain on available resources. We must also recognize that population problems are not primarily economic, for economic factors make their impact felt on changes in the size of the population only through sociopsychological processes highly complex in their origin and operation. Finally, we must distinguish between known facts and more or less educated guesses. For example, Merrill Bennett, Director of the Food Research Institute at Stanford University, has pointed out some of the questionable assumptions and norms currently used to estimate past and present trends in per capita calorie consumption and world food supply; while Philip Hauser, head of the Population Research Center, University of Chicago, has ably summarized the gaps in our knowledge of the relationships between population trends and socioeconomic conditions.

Considering the dimensions of our ignorance, together with the known variety and complexity of the variables involved, it is best to proceed cautiously when developing policies related to population control. As the Swedish population expert, Alva Myrdal, reminds us, "The population problem concerns the very foundation of the social structure," and if we are not on our guard, "there is a palpable danger that population policy will be irrationally narrowed down and forced into remedial quackery."

Catholic View of Parenthood

Catholic teaching has always maintained that those who choose the vocation of marriage find in children the divinely designed means of achieving full self-realization and perfection as mature Christians. Although children constitute one of the major blessings of marriage, their ideal number is relative to the capacities and peculiar circumstances of the individual couple who must bear and rear them to maturity.

In this connection, Catholic thinkers offer two observations. First, marriage, considered as a status, is a divinely designed institution through which men and women cooperate with the Creator in the propagation and education of the race. Marriage partners who habitually make use of the rights and privileges of this status implicitly accept the obligation of achieving its purpose; if they always avoided the possibility of preg-

nancy throughout their married life, they would show that they either did not understand the blessings of parenthood or were acting on motives alien to Christian standards. Second, in determining the extent of these obligations, the general principle applies that a positive law does not bind if its fulfillment involves proportionately grave inconvenience extrinsic to the law. Pius XII has enumerated under the general headings of medical, eugenic, economic, and social "indications" some of the sources from which such inconveniences might arise. As long as these exist, whether for a time or throughout marriage, the couple are excused from the obligation.

Means of Population Control

In the light of these observations, we may conclude that, since Catholic thinkers seek roughly the same human goals and must rely on the same information as others in defining their position on population control, the distinguishing traits in their approach will be found in the means they judge to be ethically acceptable. Stated briefly, the means for population control that they reject are direct abortion, sterilization, and all deliberate acts aimed solely and directly at the antecedent frustration or hindrance of the fecundity of the conjugal act, once it is freely initiated. They reject these means for the following reasons.

First, in regard to abortion, they view direct, deliberately induced

abortion as murder. An abortion is direct when the sole immediate result of the procedure is the termination of pregnancy before viability. The Catholic position is based on the principle that human life is sacred and must be respected in the unborn as well as in others. Any operation that directly kills either the mother or the child is judged immoral.

Catholic moralists distinguish direct from indirect abortions. An abortion is indirect when it is the by-product of a procedure immediately directed to the cure of serious pathological condition of the mother. In this case the interruption of the pregnancy is the undesired effect of a procedure immediately directed to secure some other good purpose, such as the stopping of a hemorrhage or the removal of a cancer. In deciding such cases, moralists apply the well-known principle of the double effect, which may be stated as follows: it is licit to perform an action which has good and bad effects, provided (a) that the action itself is not morally bad; (b) that the evil effect is sincerely not desired, but merely tolerated; (c) that the evil is not the means of obtaining the good effect; and (d) that the good effect is sufficiently important to balance or outweigh the harmful effect.

The second means of population control rejected by Catholic thinkers includes all deliberate acts aimed directly at the antecedent frustration or hindrance of the fecundity of the conjugal act. Such acts are

commonly included under the broad term "birth control," but it is well to note that birth control may have many meanings, ranging from the planned limitation of offspring through periodic or absolute continence, to the control of fertility through the use of contraceptive devices. We shall use the term to include all deliberate acts that aim at depriving the conjugal act of its normal procreative quality or finality (e.g., the practice of *coitus interruptus* or the use of a condom).

It should be noted that birth control is considered illicit, not because its effect is the prevention of a possible conception, but because the act itself is judged to be contrary to the order of right reason. Marriage partners who use birth control do not act as reasonable persons since they will to perform an act essentially implying the fulfillment of this initial stage, yet at the same time they do not will its fulfillment. Such action constitutes a clear contradiction in the practical order and is consequently a violation of the order of right reason. The act itself is considered intrinsically vitiated and thus unethical. It follows that the practice of birth control differs essentially from the use of rhythm, inasmuch as the latter does not vitiate the nature of the conjugal act.

Family limitation achieved through the observance of either absolute or periodic continence is considered licit by Catholic thinkers. They readily admit that the observance of absolute continence

among normal couples may become extremely difficult and calls for a high degree of self-control. However, it is maintained that when marital situations calling for the observance of absolute continence arise, this becomes possible provided the couple have adequate psychological insight and motivation, and seek additional aid through prayer and the sacraments.

The observance of periodic continence based on rhythm offers a somewhat easier means of the control of conception, since it is estimated that the period of ovulation can be predicted or ascertained with a fair degree of accuracy in roughly 80 per cent of married women. There seems little doubt that medical science will make further advances in this area.

Third, Catholic thinkers regard direct sterilization, whether permanent or temporary, whether performed for eugenic or contraceptive purposes, as morally wrong. Direct sterilization, as the term is used here, includes every interference with the generative function in which sterility itself, either perpetual or temporary, is intended as an end in itself or as a means to a further end. Direct sterilization is rejected because it is regarded as an unreasonable mutilation.

Sterilization is termed indirect when the resultant sterility is an unintentional by-product of a genuine therapeutic procedure—for example, when a cancerous uterus is removed. Indirect sterilization is judged morally permissible under

certain conditions. A widely used principle in medical ethics, sometimes called the principle of "totality," applies here: the individual has the right to use the services of his organism as a whole and consequently may allow individual parts to be destroyed or mutilated when and to the extent necessary for the good of his being as a whole. The conditions required for licit mutilation, whether by the removal of an organ or by the suppression of its function, are these: (a) the preservation of the organ or its functioning must be a source of actual harm or constitute a threat to the total well-being of the person; (b) there must be a well-founded assurance that the proposed mutilation will either remove or notably diminish the harm, and that this effect cannot be obtained without the mutilation; and (c) there must be a reasonable estimate that the good to be effected, e.g., by removing the harm, reducing pain, etc., will compensate for the evil effects consequent on the loss of the organ or function.

In developing their position on the licit use of a pill to prevent ovulation, Catholic thinkers apply these general principles to the specific instance in question. Thus, if the use of the pill constituted *direct* sterilization as defined above, the action would be judged unethical; if its use resulted in *indirect* sterilization, the principle of totality would apply. It follows that such a pill could licitly be used to alleviate various malfunctions or patho-

logical conditions in the human system. Further, if a suitable means could be discovered to control anabolic disorders or marked irregularities in the menstrual cycle, its use for this purpose would be permissible.

Conclusion

The Catholic position on the licit means of population control is sometimes regarded as a cultural residue surviving from an unscientific, agrarian past and one incapable of meeting the practical exigencies of the modern world situation. For their part, Catholic thinkers point out that ethical short cuts are bound to be self-defeating in the long run. Their approach calls for greater understanding and appreciation of the significance of sex, marriage, and parenthood. Since man is the most valuable productive agent, cultural progress can best be promoted by creating conditions favorable to his highest development. Inasmuch as such progress implies self-discipline, a sense of responsibility, self-control, and the disposition to postpone present satisfactions for future gains, the widespread use of unethical forms of population control would hinder rather than promote requisite cultural changes. The different aspects of man's personality tend to be interrelated: one cannot exempt the important area of sexual activity from mastery and control, while expecting the individual to display these same qualities in other sectors of human endeavor. The control of man's basic

drives according to the order of reason constitutes the necessary precondition both for personal development and for productive endeavor.

What practical solutions to the present population problems do Catholic thinkers propose? First, in regard to the over-all problem of world population *vs.* world resources, they maintain that our answers must remain highly speculative. We can only guess at future long-range trends in science and population growth, but we appear to have sufficient resources in energy and food to handle foreseeable population increases, provided we are willing to develop the means of production required to use them.

Second, in regard to the complex, varied problems of the underdeveloped countries, Catholic thinkers advocate a multifaceted approach, including emphasis on universal education, social and economic reforms, capital investment that will make the best use of the abundant labor supply, and needed marketing and trade reforms. They also insist that the goods of the earth have been created for the use of all mankind, so that the resource-adequate nations now have a serious obligation to aid the resource-needy regions through financial and technical assistance.

Third, they maintain that present population pressures in many contemporary danger spots could be relieved considerably by migration, better opportunities for trade, and freer access to needed raw materi-

als, together with financial and technical help from richer nations.

Finally, in defining the modern dimensions of the Malthusian dilemma in underdeveloped economies, they point out that functioning social systems are integrated systems, so that gradual or piecemeal reforms such as birth control offer no solution to existing population problems. As cultural anthropologists insist, people can live with reasonable satisfaction in an archaic peasant society or in an adapted urbanized industrial one, but not in a halfway house. In other words, when the death rate is rapidly lowered by the introduction of alien techniques and practices that do not affect the traditional social or economic situations of underdeveloped countries, these societies must choose either an immediate con-

version to an intensive industrial development, or increasing poverty and decline. Piecemeal reforms such as birth control are ineffective, both because they are not aimed at changing traditional social and economic situations and because they will not prove acceptable until such changes occur.

The basic issue we face is not primarily population growth or resources, but man's ability to modify his cultural and social systems so that the fullest exploitation of the world's resources becomes possible. This calls for the elimination of traditional methods of exploitation by the more powerful nations in world trade and by the more powerful classes within each nation—in short, it calls for cooperation, organization, and serious personal effort.



The Fallacy of Communism

It has always struck me that the great fallacy of the Communist system is that it is based on a presumption that all men, particularly party members, are men of good will. Yet it denies the existence of the Prince of Peace, our only true example of a man of good will on earth. For this reason alone their system doesn't work the way Marx said it would. No Communist government has ever withered away. It is still necessary to coerce those who mistakenly or purposefully fail to follow the party line; thus they continue to justify a dictatorship and to deny their subjects even the most elementary freedoms, as the Hungarian people will testify.—SCOTT MCLEOD in *CHRISTUS REX*, July, 1959.

In the writings of Pius XI, and in analogous texts of Popes who succeeded Leo XIII, one can perceive the beginnings of a theology of tolerance. To work for a fully satisfactory elaboration of this theology is one of the greatest tasks confronting the modern theologian.

Religious Tolerance in Catholic Tradition*

GIACOMO CARDINAL LERCARO
Archbishop of Bologna

TOLERANCE is a paradoxical concept. It consists in permitting what one knows certainly to be an evil or an error. *Permissio negativa mali* (negative permission of evil), the theologians define it—negative, because the permission in no way implies encouragement of the evil.

It would follow therefore that tolerance is not a virtue in the strict sense of the term. But virtue sanctions and requires the practice of

tolerance, for the evil or error it permits is always in the interests of a greater good that is thereby defended or promoted.

Tolerance finds its basic justification in the analogy between human law and the divine law which governs the universe. St. Thomas Aquinas taught:

Human government is derived from divine government which it should imitate. Though God is all-powerful and sovereignly good, He permits the oc-

*Translated by the CATHOLIC MIND from the French version of J. Thomas-d'Hôte which appeared in *Documentation Catholique*, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 5, rue Bayard, Paris (VIII), France, March 15, 1959.

currence of evil in the universe which He could prevent. He does so in order that the suppression of evil may not entail the suppression of greater goods or even beget worse evils. Similarly in the case of human government, those who govern well will tolerate evil in order to foster good or prevent worse evil (*Summa Theologica*, 2a, 2ae, q. X, ad 11c).

Leo XIII returned to this thought in his encyclical *Libertas* (Acta Leonis XIII, vol. II, p. 205), when he said:

With the discernment of a true Mother, the Church weighs the great burden of human weakness and well knows the course along which the actions of men are being borne in this our age. For this reason, while not conceding any right to anything save what is true and honest, she does not forbid public authority to tolerate what is at variance with truth and justice for the sake of avoiding some greater evil or preserving some greater good. God Himself in His Providence, though infinitely good and powerful, permits evil to exist in the world, partly that greater good may not be impeded and partly that greater evil may not ensue. In the government of states it is not forbidden to imitate the Ruler of the world; and, as the authority of man is powerless to prevent every evil, it has, as St. Augustine says, "to overlook and leave unpunished many things which are punished, and rightly, by divine Providence" (St. Augustine, *De Lib. Arbitr.*, Lib. 1, cap. 6, num. 14).

If, in certain circumstances, human law can and should tolerate evil for the sake of the common good—and for this reason alone—this does not mean that it can ap-

prove of or wish evil for its own sake. Being in itself the privation of good, evil is opposed to the common welfare which the human legislator must seek out and promote to the best of his ability. Human law should strive to imitate God who, though He allows evil to exist in the world, "wills neither that it come to pass nor fail to come to pass. He simply permits it. And that is good" (*Summa Theologica*, p. I, q. XIX, c. IX, ad 3). This single brief formula of the Angelic Doctor contains the entire Catholic doctrine on tolerance.

In an allocution to the Italian Catholic jurists on December 3, 1953 Pius XII remarked:

Hence the affirmation that religious and moral error must always be impeded when it is possible, because toleration of them is in itself immoral, is not valid *absolutely and unconditionally*. Moreover, God has not given to human authority such an absolute and universal control in matters of faith and morality. Such a command is unknown to the common convictions of mankind, to Christian conscience, to the sources of Revelation and to the practice of the Church. To omit here other scriptural texts which are adduced in support of this argument, Christ in the parable of the cockle gives the following advice: let the cockle grow in the field of the world together with the good seed in view of the harvest (*Matt.* 13:24-30). The duty of repressing moral and religious error cannot therefore be an ultimate norm of action. It must be subordinate to *higher and more general* norms which in particular circum-

stances permit, and perhaps even seem to indicate as the better policy, toleration of error in order to promote a *greater good*.

But what is the greater good which justifies, even demands, tolerance on the part of Catholics in respect to other religious confessions?

Prudence, insofar as it provides a man with a correct insight into how he must act, is the virtue generally recognized as justifying tolerance. In our case, however, should this prudence amount to mere practical foresight? To put it graphically, are we prevented from once again condemning the heretic to the stake only because of the peculiar historical situation of the Church today? Or should tolerance proceed from loftier principles, such as respect for the truth or for the manner in which God acts on the human soul?

Religious tolerance, we maintain, should proceed from respect for the truth and for the manner in which the human intellect arrives at the truth, rather than from respect for freedom in itself. Here we are drawing a distinction between the Catholic concept of tolerance and the ideas expressed by John Locke in his *Letter on Tolerance*. Pius XI clarified the essential elements of that distinction in his encyclical, *Non abbiamo bisogno*, where he declared:

... We are, as we stated above, happy and proud to wage the good

fight for the liberty of consciences, not indeed for the liberty of conscience, as someone, perhaps inadvertently, has quoted us as saying. This [liberty of conscience] is an equivocal expression, too often distorted to mean the absolute independence of conscience which is absurd in a soul created and redeemed by God.

A False View

Before developing the Church's position on tolerance, let us first view Catholic doctrine through the eyes of non-Catholics who have been influenced by the secular press.

According to the viewpoint commonly called radical today the principle of religious tolerance is part and parcel of those philosophical systems that are known as relativism and philosophical historicism. These systems teach that *truth is human* rather than divine. They can be understood in a twofold sense. I would call them dogmatic, insofar as they have given rise to a new form of religiosity called "the religion of freedom." They may also be called skeptic, insofar as they inspired the decadent interpretations of historicism. Renan, for example, considered himself the embodiment of the spirit of tolerance when he taught that all views of the world were, in their essence, equally true. Similarly, modern relativism claims to admit all positions save any which presents itself as absolute truth.

Because it is under the influence of relativism, our modern secularist culture has no alternative but to define the Catholic position on tol-

erance through words which have been attributed to the Catholic apologete, Louis Veuillot: "When we are a minority, we claim freedom for ourselves in the name of your principles of tolerance; when we are a majority, we deny freedom to you in the name of our own principles." (Actually Veuillot never made any such statement.)

At this point it is most important to recall the thesis which lays the foundation for the secularist perspective of history. The proposition that a transcendent religion must lead to intolerance is necessary to the secularist view. That is why all secularists hold it, even the most moderate. Their position is the result of an historical judgment according to which the Church exhausted its positive civilizing function in the Middle Ages. Today it is unable to provide the spiritual ferment necessary for the development of civil life. It is concerned only with its own survival. In its nostalgia for the past, the secularist maintains, the Church resists the modern world and finds its strength in the inevitable crises which accompany historical progress.

In this view, the Church, from the Counter Reformation on, inevitably became the center around which every type of conservatism rallied. The Church found it possible to ally herself with the established order, and even to take on the coloring of its strongest ally. Thus, in the 19th century, the secularists maintain, when the ultimate

victory of the *ancien régime* still seemed possible, the Church was antiLiberal. Today it is ready to borrow the Liberal ideology proper to the bourgeoisie.

The secularist would argue therefore that the Church today is ready to accept the principle of tolerance only because she would be otherwise incurably impotent in the modern world.

Adolph Harnack, the Protestant Liberal historian, expressed most clearly the idea that intolerance and transcendent truth went hand in hand. In 1925 he wrote: "We would again see raging the religious persecutions the Catholic churches are forced to employ when they have attained power. Their concept of the nature of the Church and of the nature of obedience in matters of faith demands persecution" (*Die Eiche*, 13, Munich, p. 295; cited by Max Pribilla, S.J., in *Unité chrétienne et tolérance religieuse*, Paris, Editions du Temps Present, 1950, p. 189).

Other authors go so far as to pretend that intolerance, in the eyes of the Church, is the logical consequence of the virtue of charity. Indeed, they argue, since the Church believes that membership is a necessary moral condition if man is to attain eternal salvation, then its transformation into an institution of power and the development of an inquisitorial character become for her a duty of mercy. As Nietzsche put it, it is therefore not charity but the impotence of charity which prevents Catholics from once

again setting fire to the stakes. Croce, who furnished the cultural ammunition for the anticlerical Liberalism made popular today by *Il Mondo* and *l'Espresso*, held the same point of view. So too did Jaspers, a secularist, but by no means an extremist in his thinking:

The pretense to dogmatic exclusiveness is constantly on the point of again preparing the lighted stake for the heretic. It is in the nature of things, for, even though the great number of believers lack the stomach for violence or for the suppression of those who, in their point of view, are infidels, the pretense to exclusiveness common to all forms of biblical religion demands it (*Der Philosophische Glaube*, Munich, 1948, p. 73).

In all honesty one must admit that the history of the 19th century seemed at times to lend an air of truth to such assertions as these. The realization that the so-called "modern world" suffered from fundamental error weighed heavily on the mind of 19th century Catholicism. The new values of this world (though imperfect in their expression and in the logic which accepted them) could not be made to conform to the potentialities of Catholic doctrine. As a result Catholics felt impelled, on the one hand, to turn back to the Middle Ages in their search for a unique, ideal model of Christian civilization and, on the other, to confuse the concept of freedom with the doctrine of naturalism, thereby conceding far too much to their adversaries.

Liberalism's Failure

But history, as far back as World War I, has given the lie to the Modernists. The extremes of immanentism—the doctrine that *truth is human*—has today become historic fact in Marxism. It has given way to what we call totalitarianism, to a form of persecution not only of Christianity but of reason itself. In comparison, the harshness and cruelty of the Inquisition, painted even in their blackest aspects, pale into insignificance.

Moreover, it has become obvious that secularist Liberalism has proved incapable of resolving the problem of the transition to a democratic form of society in which every development is considered to be the end result of a purely social process. Forced by its theoreticians to hold fast to the "prophecy of the past," and to cherish its vision of the world of yesterday, secular Liberalism has forfeited its influential place in history.

Catholics, on the contrary, have taken up the defense of their own minority rights and, where they find themselves a majority, the freedom of all others. As true defenders of human dignity, they point the way toward the transition from a Liberal to a democratic form of society.

For a precise notion of the Catholic sense of tolerance we must first dissociate the teaching of the Church from the principles of philosophical relativism. The Church, conscious that she is the unique legitimate representative of truth,

must be intolerant from the dogmatic point of view. By that we mean that she must reject religious indifference. The Church insists on the primary importance of the problem of truth and on the fact that religious truths correspond to metaphysical reality. These truths are not mere symbolic attitudes. Indeed, if the Church did not profess dogmatic intolerance, she would in fact be yielding to the relative concept of truth taught by historicism, even to the point of considering its own universality as a mere historical accident dependent on the so-called religions of freedom or of humanity.

Moreover, the Church must continue to reject all forms of Averrhoism and Spinozism, systems which make a distinction between the religion of the savants—philosophy, in other words—and the religion of the common man, which pretends to adapt for the profane those truths which only the philosopher can know in their rational form.

This means that the Church cannot accept Modernism in any shape or form. Were the Church to yield to Modernism, it would mean putting the stamp of approval on the false values of the philosophies of history and of the human religions of the 19th century. Catholicism itself would disintegrate into a mere human religion in its anxiety to realize an effective universality.

Dogmatic intolerance therefore logically follows from the idea that truth is eternal. To deny the objectivity of truth is to consider

equally valid, even in different historical circumstances, positions which, from the religious and moral point of view, are mutually contradictory.

All the papal condemnations of rationalism, therefore, from the *Mirari vos* of Gregory XVI (1832) to the Syllabus of Pius IX, retain their original force. It is entirely erroneous to suppose that Leo XIII indicated a new and different direction in the encyclicals *Immortale Dei* (1885) and *Libertas. Immortale Dei* begins, as a matter of fact, with a rejection of the rationalist and naturalist concepts of the state which have for their essential and characteristic purpose the establishment of the authority of man in place of that of God. *Libertas* clarifies perfectly the relationship between what the Sovereign Pontiff calls Liberalism in the language of the period (what is today known as radicalism) and a certain philosophy. The promoters of Liberalism correspond in the social and civic order to the partisans of rationalism and naturalism in philosophy, for they would introduce the philosophical principles of these systems into daily life. It should be clearly understood that the term naturalism signifies the rejection of the supernatural to the point of fusing those concepts which are proper to materialism and historicism.

The Church then has no alternative but to remain *dogmatically intolerant*. But dogmatic intolerance should not beget an attitude of

civil or practical intolerance. This is the distinction which Pius XI implied in *Non abbiamo bisogno*. It follows from his words that the defense of freedom has nothing in common with the tenets of the so-called religion of freedom. Genuine freedom is something quite distinct from the false elevation of freedom to the rank of religion. As Aubert has correctly observed, in this text of Pius XI, and in analogous texts of Popes who succeeded Leo XIII, one can perceive the beginnings of a theology of tolerance and of freedom of conscience in the sense understood today. He correctly adds that to work for a fully satisfactory elaboration of this theology, one liberated from the philosophical postulates of Liberalism and rationalism, constitutes one of the greatest tasks of the modern theologian.

It remains now to show how, from the idea of the eternity and objectivity of truth—in a word, of the divinity of truth—there follows the idea of respect for freedom of consciences, while from the notion that truth is human there follows the extreme intolerance characteristic of modern secularistic, totalitarian religions.

The idea of tolerance as exposed in Catholic thought is extremely simple. In substance it can be reduced to this: *no one should be forced against his will to accept the Catholic faith*. Respect for the truth demands freedom of consent. A truth imposed is not a truth accepted as such. Persuasion, Rosmini rightly noted, cannot be forced.

With this in mind we can now turn to a consideration of the greater good which justifies religious tolerance on the part of the Catholic—namely, *the need for truth to be accepted as truth*.

What we mean is this: when one affirms that truth is objective, by that very fact he admits of a distinction between truth itself and the act by which the individual yields to truth. Hence in recognizing the objectivity of truth, the individual is, at the same time, establishing the right to personal freedom. Where truth is imposed there arises confusion between religion and politics. As history has so often demonstrated, truth tends to become an instrument in the hands of the state. According to the Christian conscience the relationship of politics to religion is one of subordination. But where truth is imposed, religion and politics become entangled. This confusion of religion and politics has been typical of every form of paganism and reflects a situation which has been carried to extremes in the totalitarian regimes of today.

Moreover, Christian teaching concerning the presence of God in the human soul and belief in the absolute, transcendent value in history of the human person lays the foundation for the use of persuasive methods in matters of religious faith and forbids coercion and violence. On the contrary, systems of thought which radically deny the Christian concept of man, insofar as they hold that the thought of man is always

determined by his historical situation, must necessarily lead to the most rigid form of intolerance. Indeed, if man must change as society changes, then it makes no sense at all to speak of methods of persuasion.

If this principle is valid for metaphysical and moral truth, it is with more reason valid in the domain of grace and faith. No man can pretend to substitute for the action of God in the human soul without exposing himself to obvious sacrilege. No modern theologian would hesitate to stigmatize as a tyrant the political leader who would impose a religion by force on his subjects. Indeed, how could one think of imposing Christianity without opening the door to the worst sacrilege of all—that against the Eucharist? Cajetan observes that sacrilege against the Eucharist is the most serious because it directly offends the humanity of Christ which is contained therein.

In modern times the possibility of treating the problem of freedom of consciences and civil tolerance from a new angle begins with Leo XIII, who stated in *Immortale Dei*:

The Church indeed deems it unlawful to place various forms of divine worship on the same footing as the true religion but does not, on that account, condemn those rulers who, for the sake of securing some greater good, or of hindering some great evil, tolerate in practice that these various forms of religion have a place in the State. And in fact the Church is wont to take earnest heed that no one shall be forced to embrace the Catholic faith against

his will, for, as St. Augustine wisely reminds us, "Man cannot believe otherwise than of his own free will" (*Tract. XXVI in Johannem*, n. 2).

Thus with Leo XIII the Church begins to stress not only dogmatic intolerance, which must be strictly maintained, and the historical evils that civil tolerance can prevent, such as civil discord and wars of religion, but also the positive good that can come from religious liberty—namely, the safeguarding of the act of faith.

There is an obvious relationship between this concept of liberty and the appeal which Leo XIII makes to Thomism. As a philosophical system Thomism best establishes the necessary distinction that must be drawn between the domain of the Church and the domain of the State. In general Thomism distinguishes between faith and reason. It rejects the tendency to absorb the demands of the natural law into the sphere of supernatural justice, i.e., the law of the State into the law of the Church. According to Arquilieri, its most competent historian, this tendency characterized medieval Augustinian political philosophy. Yet in the light of the teachings of St. Augustine himself this tendency must be put down as an oversimplification, for it does not represent the integrity of his thought even though the letter of his writings be pushed to the extreme.

This principle that the positive promotion of the common good demands civil and religious tolerance

is again explicitly defended by Leo XIII in *Libertas* where the Pontiff says:

Liberty may also be taken to mean that every man in the state may follow the will of God and, from a consciousness of duty and free from every obstacle, obey His commands. This indeed is true liberty, a liberty worthy of the sons of God, which nobly maintains the dignity of man, and is stronger than all violence or wrong—a liberty which the Church has always desired and held most dear. This is the kind of liberty which the Apostles claimed for themselves with intrepid constancy, which the apologists of Christianity affirmed by their writings, and which the martyrs in vast numbers consecrated by their blood.

Despite such an authoritative statement, the idea is prevalent, not only among unbelievers but among Catholics as well, that the acceptance of this concept of liberty is only a concession *suggested by prudence and grudgingly made to the spirit of the times.*

Catholic Tradition

It is therefore important to point out that it was genuine Catholic tradition that inspired the declarations of Leo XIII, Pius XI and Pius XII. The principles of tolerance should be explained not as though they represent an effort on the part of the Church to come to a compromise with the modern world. On the contrary, they represent a new development of the permanent principles of Catholicism—a development which is capable of

assimilating and, at the same time, purifying what is worthwhile in modern thought. This development, moreover, is accomplished by making more precise the application of permanent principles to new problems.

Roman Catholic tradition is filled with texts which support such a development. It is common knowledge that the ancient state was founded on principles which confused the divine and the social, i.e., the religious and the political, and that Christianity set for itself the task of separating the things of Caesar from those of God. Christianity was far ahead of the state in proclaiming the absolute value of the human person. This theme reechoes throughout the entire works of Pius XII.

In one of his letters St. Gregory the Great wrote:

If, moved by a right intention, you desire to lead to the true faith those who are outside the Christian fold, you should use persuasion, not violence. Otherwise minds which are ripe for enlightenment will be alienated because of your hostility. Those who act differently under the pretext of bringing men to accept their own religious traditions show that they are seeking their own wills rather than the will of God.

In a letter to the bishops of France dated April 6, 1233, Gregory IX laid down the lines of conduct to be adopted in regard to the Jews. He declared: "As for the Jews, Christians ought to conduct themselves with the same charity

that they would desire to see used toward Christians who live in pagan countries." This shows that the Sovereign Pontiffs and the Doctors of the Middle Ages faced the problem of tolerance in regard to the Jews. *Basically today's position is only a universalization of their attitude.*

Later Innocent III recalled the same principles to the Archbishop of Arles. "It is contrary to the Christian religion," he pointed out, "that a man be forced to become and to remain Christian against his will and despite his opposition."

Some time later St. Thomas wrote in the *Summa* that infidels, such as the Gentiles and the Jews, who have never accepted the faith should in no manner be forced to believe, because belief is an act of the will. When Christians make war on the infidel, the Angelic Doctor continues, "it is not to oblige them to accept Christianity; it is only to force them not to oppose the faith of Christ." For, as he points out, if Christians triumph over the infidel and reduce him to captivity, they should leave him his freedom of choice in regard to religion.

Obvious Objections

Nevertheless, though it is possible to show that the Catholic doctrine on religious tolerance is only a development of traditional principles, an objection remains: How did it come to pass that the principles have been so late in yielding to developments? We cannot deny that the Inquisition refused men

their freedom of conscience. Nor can we deny that representatives of the Church often praised the sometimes violent methods employed by the Counter Reformation. It is also true that many of the expressions used by Gregory XVI and Pius IX are clearly contrary to the idea of religious liberty. We can go further and admit that the distinction we make today between the "thesis" and the "hypothesis" tends to leave the modern mind perplexed. In seeming to distinguish between the ideal of tolerance and the concrete historical situations in which she has found herself, the Church appears to have sanctioned a policy which is based on compromise.

The Answer

In answering these objections it is most important to realize that the problem of religious liberty is *essentially a modern one*. We must distinguish between the doctrine of the Church and the impact given historical situations have made on the Church. Furthermore, it is particularly important to stress that the Inquisition was never an essential factor in Church discipline. As an historical phenomenon it must be explained in the light of the spiritual situation of the Middle Ages. That period was characterized by a unity of faith which was lived. There was then no question of justifying the freedom of the act of faith, but rather of finding a religious justification for current cultural values.

With this in mind it is easy to

understand why, in the Middle Ages, theologians directed their attention to *objective truth*, leaving in the shadows the subjective aspect of human adherence to truth. By contrast, the modern era is called the *age of reflection* because reflection on the subjective attitudes of the mind is its dominant characteristic.

It was therefore natural that the Middle Ages should have insisted on dogmatic intolerance, all the while ignoring the notion of civil tolerance. Granted the unity of faith characteristic of the Middle Ages, whoever separated himself from the Church was a heretic in the formal sense of the word. One could not then speak of a plurality of religious beliefs. One did not inherit heresy. The heretic was persecuted not so much for his heresy as for the deliberate separation of himself from the unity of faith and love which constituted the religious community. The fundamental reason why the heretic was persecuted lay not so much in his error as in his grave personal culpability, his evil moral disposition.

It should not be astonishing then that the problem of freedom of consciences was either not at all or rarely posed during this period. What is important is to discover if, in contradistinction to the religious positions taken by the Church during the Middle Ages, there are not doctrinal elements in the teaching of the Roman Church which would enable her to confront the problem of religious liberty as we know that

problem today. The answer, as we have already seen, is Yes.

It is only fair to consider the condemnations of Gregory XVI and Pius IX in the light of the adversaries against whom they were pronounced. They were not concerned with the distinction between dogmatic and civil tolerance which we have been stressing. They did insist on total intransigence on the theoretical plane even to the point of expecting Catholics to deny all spontaneous recognition of religious freedom to dissenters. But in analyzing their statements we must insist on certain principles of historical criticism which demand that any statement be judged in its historical context—in this case, in relation to the anti-Catholicism of the time.

Much of what in the 19th century was called Liberalism we today would call radicalism. The Liberalism of the 19th century very often associated its political tenets with a view of life which was distinctly anti-Catholic. The so-called "declarations of the modern conscience" were meant to oppose what remained of the "dark ages." Moreover, the Liberalism of the 19th century was associated with Freemasonry. This was the age which not only idolized the figure of Julian the Apostate but sought to resume his type of persecution. (I refer, for example, to the anticlericalism of the Third Republic of France and the Laws of Combes.)

Hence the freedom to all cults and to all opinions preached by

Liberalism was, in the mind of those who promoted it, practically equivalent to a denial of the Catholic cult. The Liberals sought to establish those political and cultural conditions which would result in the disappearance from the modern conscience of what they called "a residue of intolerance." Catholicism, they taught, was no longer adaptable to progress. In reality they were only establishing an Inquisition in reverse in which ridicule rather than the stake became the penalty. The Catholic was excluded from dialog on the grounds that he represented a prescientific mentality which had long since been left behind by the irreversible forward march of history.

This exclusion from dialog represented a new type of inquisitorial punishment, at least as serious as those associated with tradition. But radicalism, in linking freedom with anti-supernatural rationalism, was not denying dogmatism, as it wished the world to believe. It was rather marking a transition to a new type of dogmatism—the *dogmatism of the modern conscience*. Thus it was Liberalism itself, at least in its radical expression, which in the 19th century made the issue one of dogmatism. It is this fact which explains why the Sovereign Pontiffs were especially concerned with dogmatic intolerance.

We have already pointed out that the reason for dogmatic intolerance is such that the Church cannot renounce it in any way. Certainly there were Catholic Liberals in the

19th century—among whom we may list Cavour who sought during the last months of his life to reconcile Liberalism and Catholicism—but it must be observed that they, while hazily perceiving what was legitimate and Christian in the claims of the modern conscience, were wrong in not seeing the complexity of the problem and in general in formulating their position in terms of compromise.

The adversaries have changed to-day. The notion that there is an essential connection between anti-supernatural rationalism and the affirmation of freedom, in both the theoretical and practical sense of the word, is admittedly false. Conditions are therefore ripe for the explanation of the traditional principles of the Church in regard to religious tolerance as we have enunciated them.

Today the cause of civilization and the cause of personal freedom are one and the same, while the cause of barbarism is synonymous with an extreme intolerance which has nothing in common with any Catholic doctrine.

We have written these lines to demonstrate that, if the Church to-day leaps to the defense of human freedom, it is not because she has been forced by historical necessity to submit. Nor does her defense of human freedom mean that she has entered into a compromise with principles that are alien to her teaching. In the presence of a new historical situation the Church merely affirms the dignity of the

human person and its essential relationship to the primacy of truth which has always been the norm of her teaching and action.



The Liberalism We Oppose

The Catholic stands in opposition to the kind of liberalism that says the meaning of America is indifference to truth in morality, and which sees in any attempt to control the pornography and vulgarity of either literature or the magazine rack a violation of civil liberty. For in concrete detail, the liberty of the *avante garde* writers is given priority over the protection of youth against moral corruption. The Catholic is opposed to those who see no menace to the privacy of the democratic citizen in the vast expansion of survey techniques, and to those who claim the intellectual founding fathers of modern America are William James and John Dewey. He must disagree with those who say that any absolutes (except the affirmation of science and radical empiricism) are a menace to freedom. In this the Catholic scholar has most Americans on his side. He is engaged in a struggle of the centuries for the preservation and the restoration of an educational system which accepted in times past a transcendent order, and which believed that a Christian atmosphere was one in which letters, arts, and science might flourish.—FRANCIS G. WILSON in the CATHOLIC WORLD, October, 1959.

We cannot return to an era of unrestricted immigration. There is a difference, however, between immigration restriction and immigration discrimination. There is an ethical basis for the former, none for the latter.

Immigration:

*U.S. Policies vs. U.S. Ideals**

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MORE than 40 million immigrants helped build this country from a vast wilderness into the most prosperous and productive nation in history. Not one aspect of our culture, whether it be industry, science, music, law, education, medicine, religion, literature, or labor, can be discussed without reference to the fundamental contributions of immigrants.

One may well ask how America might have fared if our present discriminatory immigration laws had

been in operation during the 19th century. The Scotsman Carnegie, the German Eisenhower, the Frenchman DuPont, the Hungarian Fleischman, the Italian Bellanca, the Russian Sikorsky, the Dane Knudsen—all of these and many more internationally known figures of immigrant origin might well have failed to meet the standards for admission to this country. For those who are skeptical of the contributions of immigrants and refugees to the welfare of our country, a quick glance

*Reprinted from *Social Order*, 3908 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, Mo., October, 1959.

at some of the names of those responsible for the successful launching of America's first satellite into orbit should prove convincing: Medaris, von Allen, Zeiler, von Braun, Mrazek, Gruene, Haeussermann, Lindstrom, and Debus.

For nearly 150 years (1776-1921) immigration into the United States was virtually unrestricted. During this time the concept of "free immigration" was supported by a firm conviction that American institutions were intrinsically good and that anyone coming to these shores would immediately feel their impact. In fact, this belief was so much a part of the American heritage that at specified times we even solicited immigrants from abroad.

Two general groups of immigrants are usually mentioned when discussing the era of unregulated immigration into this country: the Old Immigrants from north central and northwestern Europe, who came in large numbers from 1840 to 1890, and the New Immigrants from southern and southeastern Europe, who arrived during the years 1890 to 1920. It is imperative to keep these facts in mind, since the National Origins Law of 1924 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 are based on the place of birth and the time when these immigrants arrived in this country.

Although immigration was virtually unrestricted from 1776 to 1921, there were attempts to curtail the number of immigrants from time to time, culminating in the Quota Law of 1921 and the subsequent Na-

tional Origins Law—a law based on fear, false racial theories, outmoded prejudices, and compounded by ignorance. To fully understand the change in attitudes from free immigration to discriminatory legislation, a knowledge of the influence of *nativism* on immigration is imperative.

Roots of Nativism

Nativism is an intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (and therefore supposedly un-American) connections. It was built upon a triangular base of anti-Catholic, anti-radical, and anti-foreign sentiments, the latter merging into racism in the early years of the 20th century. Although the roots of nativism extend back to the Know Nothing Party and the Native American Party, its real impact as an organized movement against immigration began to be felt shortly after the Civil War.

The decade following the Civil War might aptly be described as an age of optimism. The Germans, Irish, and British continued to arrive in large numbers, along with some Orientals. Nativism at this time was in an embryonic stage, although its presence could be traced to periodic opposition to Irish and German immigrants in selected geographic areas. The age of optimism momentarily hid the presence of nativism. In the 1880's nativists began to challenge not the loyalty of immigrants but rather the seemingly impossible task of assimilating such

diverse groups of people. Initial attempts were made to associate the immigrants with slums, crime, and job stealing. Periodic eruptions such as the Molly Maguires in the Pennsylvania coal fields and the Haymarket Affair in 1886 confirmed nativist thinking of the immigrant as a lawless person. Specific organizations such as the OUAM (Order of United American Mechanics) and the APA (American Protective Association) acted as spearheads of the nativist group. The Chinese Exclusion Act and the Contract Labor Law were passed during this time. It is important to note that nativism in the 1880's struck not against *some* immigrants but against *all* immigrants.

In the 1890's nativist influence was extended into the South and West where its charges became more specific and flavored with nationalism. In the aftermath of the depression of 1893, fear of the stranger mounted with hatred and violence erupted more frequently. The APA began to exploit myths concerning Catholics while OUAM activities served to intensify industrial warfare. The "lump of labor" theory advocated by nativists—describing a fixed number of jobs and a static economy—was still not powerful enough, however, to enlist the support of organized labor, whose ranks numbered many immigrants.

It was unfortunate that the new immigrants began to arrive at this time when nativism was beginning to muster its full strength against

immigration. Violence in Pennsylvania and New Orleans supported nativist demands for tightening naturalization laws and restricting immigration. The first of many attempts was made to pass the literacy-test law; immigration was placed wholly under Federal jurisdiction. Nativism suffered a temporary setback in 1897 as business began to pick up and the Spanish-American War loomed on the horizon. Imperialism sparked the notion of automatic assimilation and the melting-pot theory was once again revived.

The early years of the 20th century were marked by a growing fear lest that which was uniquely American be lost in the inundation of immigrants. In the vanguard of nativists at this point were the eastern patricians who feared the possible diluting of Anglo-Saxon stock. The literacy bill was again introduced; in 1906 the Naturalization Act was passed to tighten up so-called loopholes in the law.

Racism's Ugly Entry

Early in the 20th century the anti-foreign base of nativism combined with racism to attempt a revolution of attitudes concerning the nature of man. Racism ultimately became the most important element of nativist ideology. The sources of this ideology were found in the politico-literary emphasis on the Anglo-Saxon tradition and in the pseudo-scientific writings of de Gobineau, Ripley, Chamberlain, Grant, and Stoddard. The terms *race* and *cul-*

ture were blurred into one distorted concept. The labeling of immigrants from southern and southeastern Europe as innately inferior sharpened race thinking. As the new immigrants continued to arrive in large numbers (over one million in 1907), demands for restriction became more aggressive. The literacy bill was once again reviewed and the Gentleman's Agreement was activated.

After first opposing discriminatory legislation introduced in Congress to prohibit the immigration of Japanese labor, President Theodore Roosevelt (out of consideration for the feelings of the Japanese nation) proceeded to bring about this restriction through diplomatic channels. He alleviated the international tension quietly by means of an executive agreement with Japan, which, unlike a foreign treaty, did not need the approval of the U. S. Senate. By the terms of this "gentleman's agreement," effective in 1908, Japan promised to refuse passports to laborers coming to the United States. Later, Japan extended this agreement to include immigration to Hawaii.

Congress continued to recognize the Gentleman's Agreement in its 1917 immigration laws by not including the Japanese in the Asiatic Barred Zone—which completely excluded Asians (with a few minor exceptions, *e.g.*, travelers, government officials and merchants) from India, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, Arabia, Afghanistan and all the Asian islands, including those

of the East Indies, except the Philippines and Japan.

In 1924, however, Congress chose to ignore the Gentleman's Agreement by barring all immigrants not eligible for citizenship, a classification which included the Japanese. The seeds of World War II thus may well have been planted as early as 1924 when Japanese-American friction became an international issue.

An Immigration Commission was also appointed in 1907 to study the problem. Its report, submitted in 1911 in some 40-odd volumes, favored restriction and supported the literacy bill, which was finally passed over President Wilson's veto in 1917. Antiracial and antiCatholic sentiment was revived as the peak of prewar nativism was reached in 1914. The KKK (Ku Klux Klan) rose in 1915 to wield the cudgel of bigotry against foreigners, Catholics, Negroes, and Jews. Organized labor still opposed immigration restriction but its resistance was not as vocal as in the preceding decades.

Sources of Quota Idea

Continued agitation for stricter laws governing immigration following World War I stemmed from a number of diverse sources—isolationist attitudes following the war, increased pressure from the KKK, the writings of racists Grant and Stoddard, and the depression in the mid-1920's. The result was our first quota law in 1921.

Politics and politicians played an important part in the three quota

laws: the 1921 version, the National Origins Law of 1924, and the permanent quota law of 1929. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, a former American missionary to Japan, is said to have formally originated the quota idea as a method of satisfying American demands for the virtual exclusion of Orientals without actually humiliating Japan by special legislation. Strangely enough, the quota idea was subsequently adopted for practically all immigrants *except* Orientals (and residents of the Western Hemisphere).

In March, 1919, the Republicans, now in control of Congress, put Representative Albert Johnson (Mass.), a vehement nativist, into the chairmanship of the House Committee on Immigration. With the aid of Senator David A. Reed (R. Pa.) and the swelling crest of nativistic sentiment following World War I, he quickly wrote the quota laws into the books.

In 1920 nativists were determined to enforce a rigid conformity. Their goal now was not to talk about the difficulty of assimilating immigrants but simply to keep them out.

Although the National Origin Laws were spearheaded by Reed and Johnson, the principle was embodied in a number of temporary acts before it evolved into its present form. Some of the triggers behind the 1921 law were the coal strikes in West Frankfurt, Illinois (with a heavy Italian population), anti-Japanese hysteria in California, Tom Watson's anti-Catholic campaign for the U. S. Senate in Georgia, Henry

Ford's campaign against the Jews, the *Saturday Evening Post's* commendations of the writings of Madison Grant, and the activity of the KKK. More important developmental factors, perhaps, were the economic depression in 1920, fresh waves of immigration, and an attempt to associate foreigners with crime.

The quota law of 1921 (the Johnson Act) was signed by President Harding after being vetoed by President Wilson during his final days in office. It provided that the number of aliens of any nationality to be admitted in any year be limited to three per cent of the number of foreign born of such nationality resident in the United States in 1910. This law was extended in 1922 and continued in force until 1924 as a result of rumors that immigrants were going to inundate the United States if the law were allowed to lapse. The statute law favored immigrants from northern and western Europe, though not so much as did later versions. Under its provisions, of a total of 358,000, the former received an annual quota of 200,000, as compared with 155,000 for southern and southeastern Europe. The 1921 law was not enthusiastically received by all members of the House, although it did pass by 296-42. A strongly worded minority report of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization was submitted over the signatures of Representatives Isaac Siegel of New York and Adolph Sabath of Illinois. Opposition in the Senate was led

by LeBaron Colt (Rep. R.I.) and William P. Dillingham (Rep. Vt.). Although organized labor finally succumbed to nativist pressure and openly favored immigration restriction, it must be stated in all fairness that this was a temporary and unfamiliar role for organized labor to play. At the present time the AFL-CIO is on record as opposing strongly the present discriminatory immigration laws of this country.

After three years, Congress judged the quota law of 1921 to be too lenient: total immigration had risen to over 700,000 in the year 1923-1924. Aligning itself with racists, nativists and eugenists, Albert Johnson's committee had begun as early as 1922 to outline a permanent policy. A business upturn in 1922, along with cries for a liberalization of immigration by business, produced a stand off. Republican leaders in both Houses decided to defer the whole issue until 1924.

Some opposition to the plan of Johnson's committee was registered in 1923 by senators from immigrant states and by a small but voluble immigration bloc in the House of Representatives. The Coolidge administration, however, was favorable to a new law. Johnson's committee wanted the law set up to allow two per cent of each foreign-born group resident in the United States in 1898 to be allowed to enter the country each year. The intent of this law was to reduce the total quota to 165,000 and to cut down the influx of immigrants from

southern and eastern Europe by using an earlier base year (1890). The total quota for northern and western Europe was cut by only 29 per cent, but that for southern and eastern Europe was reduced by 87 per cent; *e.g.*, Italy's quota was cut from 42,057 to 3,845.

Johnson was pushing hard for the two per cent quota and the 1890 census base year but he knew that he would somehow have to justify it or else be accused of blatant discrimination against peoples from southern and eastern Europe. Opposition to Johnson's plan came from Senator Colt, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, who agreed to the two per cent but wanted to keep the census year as 1910. Then John B. Trevor, an advisor to Johnson, came up with a clever plan which purported to prove statistically that quotas based on the census of 1890 would not discriminate against either the old or the new immigration but would yield quotas roughly proportionate to the present ratio between the old and the new immigrant stock in the American population. Protests against the racist foundation of Trevor's argument were hardly heard over the purported mathematical justification of the use of the 1890 census. Conclusions were reached in an atmosphere favorable to a belief in the innate superiority of immigrants from northern and western Europe. Dr. H. H. Laughlin, a eugenicist known chiefly as an advocate of sterilization of inmates of institutions, was for some strange

reason regarded as a most important expert on immigration; his biological and eugenic data were apparently taken at face value by Congress.

Unfortunately, Senator Colt was taken ill and his place was taken by Senator Reed, who strongly supported the proposed Johnson bill. Henry Cabot Lodge also was an enthusiastic backer of this legislation, which attempted to preserve the racial status quo by apportioning quotas directly according to the contribution of each national stock to the current American population. The measure was passed on a temporary basis in the Senate with only six negative votes. Even two of the most liberal senators, Thomas J. Walsh (Mont.) and Magnus Johnson (Minn.), joined the majority in voting for the bill. President Coolidge signed the Johnson-Reed bill on May 26, 1924.

National Origin Permanent Policy

In 1929 the National Origins Law became a permanent feature of our immigration policy; the quota was raised to three per cent and the census date advanced to 1920. However, the damage had already been done, since the numbers of southern Europeans had already been drastically reduced by the quota laws of 1921 and 1924. Since 1929 the quota laws provided that the quota for each nationality for each fiscal year should be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants of that stock in the continental United States in 1920 bore to the total

population. Thus, if the British stock that year numbered 48,195,400 and the total population were revealed by the 1920 census to be 110,000,000, then the proportion emerged: 48,195,400 is to 110,000,000 as X is to 150,000. X, or the British quota, was 65,700.

The National Origins Law was designed to discriminate on the basis of national origin, race and color. The test was not the individual worth of the immigrant but the presumed superiority of people from certain geographic areas. The fundamental assumption of the National Origins Law was that the place of birth of prospective immigrants was a reliable index of their potential contribution to the United States and the likelihood of their becoming good citizens. The National Origins Law was based on fear of and hostility toward strangers and on false assumptions unsubstantiated by biology, history, sociology, economics, or anthropology.

The quota laws purported to fix immigration quotas on the basis of the national origins of our population. However, the quotas are actually based on the national origins of our population in 1920 and not as it was in 1950. Moreover, they exclude Negroes, Indians and other non-whites from the population base. They thus assume that American culture reached a fixed plateau in 1920 and that future policy must perpetuate a fixed racial constitution.

History has recorded the failure of the National Origins Law to

achieve its primary objective: to channel immigration in accordance with a statistical pattern. Since 1924 only 44 per cent of the allotted quotas have been used. Furthermore, of all quota immigrants from 1930 to 1951, 42 per cent came from south and southeastern Europe. According to the National Origins principle only 16 per cent should have come from this part of Europe. The law failed:

1. because the favored quota countries did not send immigrants in proportion to their quotas;
2. because it did not apply to non-quota immigration which between 1930 and 1951 was substantial (820,795); and
3. because the system was so rigid and inflexible that in emergencies Congress had to pass special legislation ignoring the National Origins principle.

The validity of the National Origins Law was rarely questioned during the period from 1929 to the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. Even the immigrants most affected by discrimination made little protest, remembering the hostile reaction of such groups as the KKK in the aftermath of World War I.

Sudden crises beginning in the 1930's, however, combined with the inability of the National Origins Law to provide for a "right of asylum," necessitated a series of

hurried, piecemeal and fragmentary legislation. Under the provisions of the Refugee Act in the 1930's some 243,862 immigrants were admitted as refugees from Nazi tyranny. During World War II there was a virtual end to immigration. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, probably as a gesture of good will toward the Chinese, our allies.

Beginning in 1946, demands for additional labor began to mount and the Displaced Persons Act was passed in 1948. Under the provisions of this legislation, made somewhat more workable as a result of amendments in 1950, 393,542 Europeans rendered homeless by World War II or who could not with safety remain in or return to their prewar communities, were allowed to enter the United States between 1948 and 1952.

McCarran-Walter Act

Suddenly, after quiet and unobtrusive work, the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was catapulted into prominence as a new immigration law. In fact, however, it is nothing more than a carbon copy of the 1924 law, with a few minor exceptions. Like the earlier one, it is not concerned with the personal worth of the immigrant but rather with his place of birth. It, too, discriminates on the basis of national origin, race and color. The basic provisions for assigning quotas remain essentially unchanged. Under the present law the number of immigrants to be admitted annually is 154,000. This is approximately equal to one-sixth

of one per cent of the total *white* population of the United States in 1920. The few positive features of the 1952 law can be described briefly but completely as the codification of existing immigration laws and the assigning of minimum quotas (100) to Oriental countries.

The shortcomings of the McCarran-Walter Act are perhaps very familiar to many who have attempted to work with some of its unrealistic and unworkable provisions. Some of the more obvious discriminatory features, with accompanying examples, are these:

1. *Flagrant violation of due process of law.*

In 1824 Chief Justice Marshall wrote that "a naturalized citizen becomes a member of the society, possessing all the rights of a native citizen and standing, in the view of the Constitution, on the footing of a native. The Constitution does not authorize Congress to enlarge or abridge these rights."

The McCarran-Walter Act does just that. It establishes a probationary period for naturalized citizens, during which time they are subject to penalties not applicable to natives—e.g., a naturalized citizen can lose his citizenship by living abroad for five years [Sec. 352 (a) (2)].

An alien who addresses himself to the Board of Immigration Appeals finds the same agency acting as prosecutor and judge, an intolerable situation in judicial procedure.

If a consul issues a visa, there is automatic and mandatory review. If he denies a visa, his action is final

even where he has acted unreasonably or is clearly in error. Not even the Secretary of State may interfere.

Under the 1952 Act, persons outside the United States who claim to be United States citizens are denied a judicial hearing if a consular official refuses to allow such a person to come to the United States [Sec. 340 (c); Sec. 287 (a) (1)]. If he cannot enter the United States, of course, he cannot get into our courts. It subjects American citizens to the risk of being shorn of their heritage by a possible error of a minor administrative official, and this without redress. This gives such a person who claims to be a citizen less judicial process than an alien who objects to an exclusion order.

2. *Double examination of the immigrant by the Department of State and again by the Department of Justice* [Sec. 235].

If, for example, an immigrant from Italy were granted a visa by our consul in Naples to come to the United States, there is no guarantee that once he arrives in New York he will be admitted. Upon arrival, if the Department of Justice denies him admittance, he can be sent back to Italy. (There is no longer a waiting place at Ellis Island.)

3. *Abolishing statutes of limitations in deportation cases and making grounds for deportation retroactive* [Sec. 241 (d); Sec. 242].

An alien or naturalized citizen can now be deported if 25 years ago he was involved in a criminal act, even though he has lived an exem-

plary life since that time. He may also be deported if 30 years ago he performed an action which at that time was not a crime but which 30 years later is defined as such.

4. *Eliminating teachers and scientists from the non-quota group* [Sec. 101 (a) (26) (f)].

Under the 1929 law ministers and educators were non-quota. In the 1952 law, ministers remain non-quota but educators entering as immigrants are transferred to the 50 per cent preference group. This action is not explained anywhere in the 1952 law. It produces a situation which could well deprive us of needed talent and skills.

For example, if Enrico Fermi, the Italian scientist who played such an important role in the development of atomic energy during World War II, wanted to come to the United States for permanent residence today, he would first have to obtain a clearance from the United States Employment Service, then get written statements from labor organizations, submit affidavits of persons having special knowledge of him, assemble clippings of advertisements for persons, in the United States, to perform the services which he claims to be able to render, produce copies of his diplomas, school certificates, and other similar documents. Then he would be placed on a waiting list.

5. *Permitting the opinion of a consular official to be the final word on the barring of immigrants who are likely to become public charges* [Sec. 212 (a) (15)].

This attributes knowledge to consular officials which they obviously do not possess. It is tantamount to stating that one's occupational status at the moment of entry determines one's potential contribution to America. It denies the historically established fact that enrichment comes also from the lowly peasant and laborer and from their American-born children, given both education and opportunity.

6. *Eliminating judicial review of deportation cases in many instances* [Sec. 241].

Studies by the Wickersham Committee (1931), Jane Perry Clark (1931), William Van Vleet (1932), the Dimock Committee (1940), and the Perlman Commission (1953) have all produced critical reports of our deportation hearing process. Such reports do not, of course, impugn the motives of immigration administrators. They do express concern for the adequate protection of the alien and the naturalized citizen.

Naturalized Citizen Deportable

Denaturalization proceedings under the 1952 act extend the security program from aliens to naturalized citizens who are today under constant threat of having their citizenship taken away. Denaturalization then goes hand in hand with deportation. This can be used against naturalized citizens as a handy substitute for criminal prosecution. It would seem also that the legally resident alien who has committed acts which are crimes should receive in the course of his deportation

proceedings substantially the same judicial protection under the Constitution as a citizen would expect to receive in the course of a trial for criminal offenses.

7. *Depriving American citizens of the right to be immune from search or official interrogation without a warrant* [Sec. 287 (c)].

An immigration officer, under the 1952 law, may interrogate any person whom he believes to be an alien as to his right to remain in the United States. Such a person can be visited at any hour of the day or night for questioning, without a warrant.

An immigration officer can also search any car or other conveyance within 25 miles of any external boundary of the country, without warrant.

8. *Requiring deportation of immigrants who become addicted to narcotics after entry* [Sec. 241 (a) (11)].

9. *Establishing a special inferior status for persons of Asian extraction, including Filipinos* [Sec. 202 (b) (c) (1)].

Irrespective of where a person is born, if he traces as much as one-half of his ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific quota area, then he must enter under one of the Asian quotas instead of the quota of his country of birth—e.g., an individual born in England of an English father and a Chinese mother must enter the United States under the Chinese quota.

Colonial dependencies in the

Western Hemisphere receive separate quotas of 100. Previously, immigrants from these dependencies were admitted under the quota of the mother country.

Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to amend the 1952 law. The Truman (Perlman) Commission, appointed in the Fall of 1952, submitted many recommendations for changes, none of which were enacted. During both Eisenhower administrations many bills have been introduced into the House and Senate in an effort to amend the law—e.g., the Ives-Javits bill, the Lehman bill, the Cellar bill. None of these has succeeded, although the Kennedy amendment (Public Law 85-316, 85th Congress, S. 2792), passed on Sept. 11, 1957, did manage to effect some changes favorable to a more equitable immigration law. This bill permitted entry of orphans under 14 years of age, adopted by American citizens abroad or coming to the United States for adoption, wiped out mortgage quotas imposed on countries under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 and other laws, validated more than 18,000 visas left unused when the Refugee Relief Act expired, granted visas to 38,000 close relatives of refugees previously admitted, and contained additional provisions covering hardship cases such as illegitimate children and tubercular relatives. These may be minor changes but they do indicate that the law can be changed.

Some of the proposals which are deemed essential in making the Mc-

Carran-Walter Act a reasonable and workable law are these:

1. Liberalization of Oriental quotas.

2. Consolidation of agencies in order to eliminate the double examination of immigrants.

3. A vigorous review of present policies that violate due process of law.

4. Establishing a single, unified quota of one-sixth of one per cent of the total population of the United States, based on current census data, including Negroes and Indians.

5. Transfer of present and future unused quotas to countries which have used up their quotas or already mortgaged them into the future.

6. A permanent though flexible provision of our basic immigration law to include the right of asylum for expellees and refugees. This would eliminate the need for periodic and piecemeal emergency legislation, such as the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, the D.P. Act, and the Pastore-Kennedy-Walter Act of 1958, which allowed some persons of Dutch origin in the Netherlands, displaced from Indonesia, and some Portuguese fishermen made homeless by earthquakes in the Azores in 1958, to enter the United States on a non-quota basis. It would also drastically reduce the large number of private bills introduced into the House and Senate each year to meet situations not covered by our inflexible laws. In the 84th Congress more than 2,000 private bills were introduced. Even

Senator Pat McCarran, one of the co-sponsors of our present immigration law, introduced and successfully marshaled through Congress a private bill allowing a number of Basque sheepherders to come to this country and practice their occupation in Nevada.

Thus far in the 86th Congress more than 60 bills have been introduced and referred to the Committees on the Judiciary in the House and Senate, many of them containing proposed changes similar to those outlined above. Few of these have been favorably received.

The most comprehensive and potentially effective bill to revise our present 1952 law was introduced on May 12, 1959 (S. 1919) by Senators Javits, Case, Keating, and Saltonstall, entitled "Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1959."

This bill, if enacted, should produce a reasonable, equitable, and workable immigration law; one which we could put before the world with a clear conscience and clean hands. It contains provisions for revision of quotas, for adjustment of the status of aliens by the Attorney General, for changing judicial review proceedings, for the creation of a Board of Visa Appeals in the Department of State, for granting of non-quota visas to members of families of citizens of the United States, for pooling of unused quotas, for granting of non-quota visas to certain refugees, and for changing the present law concerning the loss of nationality because of certain periods of residence abroad. Its rea-

soned analysis and comprehensive scope, however, may be its greatest handicap in getting past powerful Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Representative Francis Walter, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Without their support, there is little hope for the success of such bills as S. 1919.

Informed Citizenry Needed

It is important to bear in mind that changing the McCarran-Walter Act is not going to solve all the problems pertaining to the movement of peoples. Unless we can develop through grass-roots activities an informed citizenry concerning not only the area of voluntary migration, but of the related questions of expellees, refugees, resettlement programs and their foreign policy implications as well, we shall be like the man who does not first inspect the forest before he prunes the tree.

The status of Hungarian refugees under the McCarran-Walter Act is a case in point. Hungary was given a quota of 865 immigrants per year under the 1952 law. This quota was to be used by Hungarian immigrants, however, not by Hungarian refugees. The McCarran-Walter Act could not handle the mass exodus from Hungary because since 1924 the "right of asylum" has been eliminated as a basic feature of our immigration laws. The 65,000 Hungarian refugees this country has promised to accept are admitted on the strength of a Presidential Order and under the

"parolee provision" of the McCarran-Walter Act. The "parolee provision," however, was designed to admit *individual* refugees, not *groups*, thus pointing up once again the inadequacy of the existing law in meeting emergencies of this type. Under the "parolee provision" the refugees are allowed to remain in the United States under rigorous scrutiny and constant investigation by the FBI. They cannot become citizens, although some bills have been introduced in Congress to grant citizenship to these refugees.

World Refugee Year

The problem of expellees, escapees, and refugees will occupy the attention of the world in the year 1959-1960, which will be officially known as World Refugee Year.

The plight of the refugee, the escapee, and the expellee can be solved in the World Refugee Year only if the problem is shared. The United States could not possibly do the job by itself, nor could Great Britain, Russia, Canada or any other country in the world. Since 1945 more than 2,500,000 immigrants have entered the United States. Many were refugees who came in under normal immigration quotas; 750,000 others came in under special legislation. This is a laudable record but a quick glance at the programs in operation in Belgium, Canada, Norway and Sweden in admitting the "difficult to resettle" refugees might raise some serious doubts as to whether we are ful-

filling our obligations in both charity and justice toward the less fortunate people of the world.

The conduct of our foreign policy is also affected by our present immigration law. More than half the world's total population lives on the continent of Asia. How can we convince these 1.5 billions of people that our intentions are honorable in seeking world peace if we continue to maintain discriminatory immigration barriers based on national origin, race, and color? To maintain some of the Asian countries within the orbit of the free world calls for a drastic revision of present immigration policies. It seems strange that the designers and supporters of our present immigration law do not see the possible dangers resulting from its present entrenchment behind arguments

smacking of national sovereignty and the exclusive character of national interests. Since Western democracies are founded on the Judeo-Christian tradition emphasizing the worth and dignity of the individual person, to continue to maintain discriminatory immigration barriers is to violate the very tenets on which democracy is based.

We cannot and do not wish to return to an era of unregulated and unrestricted immigration. There is a difference, however, between immigration restriction and immigration discrimination: there is an ethical basis for the former but none for the latter. No individual should be placed in the position of being forced to choose between unregulated immigration on the one hand and the McCarran-Walter Act on the other.



The Faith in Russia

Signor La Pira, former mayor of Florence, recently made a pilgrimage of prayer to Russia. On his return, he wrote: "I was happy to note that, despite the activities and orders of the Communist Party, the sturdy oak that is the Christian faith of the Russian people showed no signs of withering away but, on the contrary, gave many comforting signs of life and of a new time of growth. This I was able to discover by seeing with my own eyes the religious fervor of the people of all classes, old and young, men and women, gathered in those churches that are still open for worship. . . . As I have been able to see for myself, the religious faith of 'Holy Russia,' of 'the Holy Ukraine,' and of 'Holy Kiev' is a burning and heroic faith." It is good to know of the presence of such faith, even though it must live in dark and stifling conditions. The important thing is that it is there. We must pray that it will burn ever more brightly.—*The SIGN, November, 1959.*

New Yorkers seem to have an old tradition—a sort of tribal custom—of blaming all their ills on the latest wave of immigrants. Like the Irish, Germans and Italians in the past, the Puerto Ricans are today bearing the brunt of discrimination.

New York City

and Its Puerto Rican "Problem"^{*}

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NEWSPAPERS tell us that delinquency is a serious danger in New York City. Indeed it is. But a far more serious danger would be a sense of panic in the minds of New Yorkers; a fear that our fair city has begun to decay; a sense of pity that older and peaceful and prosperous times are being snowed under in a new phenomenon of teen-age crime, of slum living, and of poverty.

This is a strange state of mind

for New Yorkers to fall into. There must be something in the heavy air of the Hudson or the East River that causes it. New Yorkers have been assigning their fair city to the dust heap for the past hundred and fifty years, but it always seems to come out fairer than ever. They have another old tradition—something like a tribal practice, I suppose—of always blaming her recurrent ills on the latest strangers who arrive to populate her slums. It

^{*}An address at the Fordham University School of Business, New York, N.Y., October 8, 1959.

takes a bit of maneuvering to substitute Idlewild Airport for Castle Garden, but New Yorkers look as if they are going to succeed in doing it.

There are signs of life in the old lady yet. The Irish and the Germans, the Italians and the Jews have now become respectable. It seems, however, as if the Puerto Ricans will enable the old tradition to survive. For they are joining the company of all the great peoples who went before them. They are getting their initiation into the noble heritage of the immigrant by having all the crime and the ills of the city attributed to their coming.

The New Yorker's Delusion

The interesting thing about the strange attitude that affects New Yorkers is this: the older, more peaceful and more prosperous times never really existed. New York has always been a rough city, often a violent one. Turbulence and upheaval, conflict and adjustment, change and struggle have always been her way of life. That is what made her great. One contemporary judge wants us to slow things down to give the city time to catch up. New York has never had time to catch up. Wave after wave of newcomers kept driving the city onward. Struggle and change have kept her on her toes. The city is great precisely because destiny never allowed her to take a rest. Effort and energy, challenge and striving have drawn from her mind

and soul a constant burst of creativeness, imagination and drive that has made her what she is. I give you the quotation, for what it is worth, of an old friend of mine, a hard-bitten Irishman who spent his life in the excitement of the Stock Exchange—where New York was so very much New York. "Father," he said, "you are privileged to be living in New York these days. You are witnessing the greatest moments of the city's life."

The one simple prescription to cure the New Yorker's recurring delusion is a sense of perspective, a realization that these are not the worst times of the city's history. They may be the best. Let's forget about Mayor Wagner for a few moments and listen for a while to the man who was Mayor of New York in 1825. Philip Hone never thought the city would last long enough to have a Mayor in 1859 much less 1959. He wrote in his diary on December 2, 1839 as follows:

One of the evidences of the degeneracy of our morals and of the inefficiency of our police is to be seen in the frequent instances of murder by stabbing. The city is infested by gangs of hardened wretches, born in the haunts of infamy, brought up in taverns, educated at the polls of elections, and following the fire engines as a profession. These fellows (generally youths between the ages of twelve and twenty-four) patrol the streets making the night hideous and insulting all who are not strong enough to defend themselves; their haunts all the night long are the grog-shops in the Bowery, Corlear's

Hook, Canal Street and some even in Broadway, where drunken frolics are succeeded by brawls, and on the slightest provocation knives are brought out, dreadful wounds inflicted, and sometimes horrid murder committed. The watchmen and police officers are intimidated by the frequency of these riots, the strength of the offenders and the disposition which exists on the part of those who ought to know better to screen the culprits from punishment (*Diary of Philip Hone*, 1828-51. N.Y., 1936, p. 434).

This is a description of those more peaceful and prosperous days that modern New Yorkers long to have back again. One doesn't have to look very far to see whom Philip Hone blames for this distress. The doom of the city was already assured by the worthless element that was there in abundance. He states:

[These Irishmen] . . . are the most ignorant and consequently the most obstinate white men in the world, and I have seen enough to satisfy me that, with few exceptions, ignorance and vice go together. . . . These Irishmen, strangers among us, without a feeling of patriotism or affection in common with American citizens, decide the elections of the City of New York. . . . The time may not be very distant when the same brogue which they have instructed to shout "Hurrah for Jackson!" shall be used to impart additional horror to the cry of "Down with the natives" (*id.* p. 190).

Can you imagine what chance Mr. Hone would have of becoming Mayor today!

Philip Hone was not by any means alone in his convictions. Joseph Pintard was another out-

standing man of those days, a very spiritual and generous soul who spent much of his time raising funds for the building of St. Patrick's Cathedral and for the support of Irish orphans. Pintard had doubts on many things but he was a true New Yorker. He knew the city was going to the dogs and he knew the reason why:

But the beastly vice of drunkenness among the lower laboring classes is growing to a frightful excess, owing to the cheapness of spirits and the multitudes of low Irish Catholics, who, restrained by poverty in their own country from free indulgence, run riot in this. . . . We have 3,500 licensed dram shops in this city, two or three on every corner; but if we stop one half . . . the consumers will all go to the other corner. . . . As long as we are overwhelmed with Irish immigrants, so long will the evil abound. . . . Thefts, incendiaries, murders which prevail, all rise from this source. (*Diary of Joseph Pintard*, Vol. III, p. 51).

It is too bad that Philip Hone and Joseph Pintard did not tell us more of the really peaceful, and orderly and prosperous days that came twenty years later. Another generation had come; more immigrants had arrived; the city was worse than ever. And who was responsible? You guessed it. By this time the United States Congress had become interested. And we owe to them the following sketch of New York in the 1850's.

It has been stated in the public journals that of the 16,000 commitments for crimes in New York City, during 1852, at least one fourth were minors,

and that no less than 10,000 children are daily suffering all the evils of vagrancy in that city. In 1849, the chief of the police department of that city called attention to the increasing number of vagrant, idle and vicious children of both sexes growing up in ignorance and profligacy, and destined to a life of misery, shame and crime. . . . He stated that there were then 2,955 children of the class described, known to the police in eleven patrol districts, of whom two thirds were females between eight and sixteen years of age. Most of the children, as was stated at the time, were of German or Irish parentage, the proportion of the American born being not more than one in five (Foreign Criminals and Paupers, Report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, August 16, 1856 [U.S. 34 Congress, 1st session, House Report No. 359], pp. 16-17. Quoted in Edith Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1926 p. 621).

The good members of the House Committee did not confine themselves to New York. They thought on a national scale. It was not only New York City that was going to the dogs. It was the entire nation. However, they had spent enough time in New York City to catch the spirit of that strange tribal practice of finding the roots of all evil in the strangers to our land:

. . . The source of this great moral evil may be almost wholly traced to the many vices of the foreign population, who afford no other examples to their children than habits of disorder, idleness and uncleanness, and degrading vices of all kinds, and who exercise no parental authority whatever on them (*Id.* quoted in Abbott, p. 621).

19th-Century Gangdom

Really, if a New Yorker wants to get the spice of life, a real image, in vivid pictures, of what was going on; if he wants to know the names of some of these vicious children, and the methods of their trade, he can turn to that extraordinary bit of historical reporting that so many New Yorkers so quickly forgot—Herbert Asbury's *Gangs of New York* (N. Y., Knopf, 1929). Asbury puts flesh on the bones of statistics. And it amazes me that no publishing house, in these days of mild panic, has thought it fit to bring out a cheap paper-back for the edification of all New Yorkers. It is a heartening reassurance that things today are not so bad. If New York survived the eighteen fifties, it should be able to survive anything.

Conditions such as these soon prevailed throughout the Fourth Ward, and by 1845, the whole area had become a hotbed of crime; streets over whose cobblestones had rolled the carriages of the aristocrats were filled with dives which sheltered the members of such celebrated river gangs as the Day-break Boys, Buckoos, Hookers, Swamp Angels, Slaughter Housers, Short Tails, Patsy Conroys, and the Border Gang. No human life was safe, and a well-dressed man venturing into the district was commonly set upon and murdered or robbed, or both, before he had gone a block. . . . The police would not march against the denizens of the Fourth Ward except in parties of half a dozen or more. . . . (p. 48-49).

Nicholas Saul and William Howlett, who were hanged in the Tombs when the former was but twenty years old

and Howlett a year his junior, were the most celebrated leaders of the Daybreak Boys, although membership in the gang included many noted criminals, among them Slobbery Jim, Sow Madden, Cowlegged Sam McCarthy and Patsy the Barber.

None of these thugs was more than twenty years old when he had acquired a reputation as a murderous gangster and cutthroat, and there was scarcely a man among them who had not committed at least one murder, and innumerable robberies before he reached his majority. Saul and Howlett joined the gang when they were sixteen and fifteen, respectively, and several others were even younger; a few were as young as ten and twelve years (pp. 66-67).

Every evening the chieftain of the Honeymooners stationed a gangster at each corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-ninth street, and these worthies maintained their positions until midnight, knocking down and robbing every well-dressed man who appeared. When George S. Walling was appointed captain of police late in 1853 . . . he found the entire area terrorized by the Honeymoon gang (p. 104).

About this time, new rays of light began to appear in public statements. Crime, indeed, preoccupied everyone's mind. Its association with the immigrant poor was taken for granted. But, as public officials began to look into the housing conditions of the time, they began to see the situation in new perspective:

That crime, in general, is on the increase in our community is a melancholy fact, in spite of the prevalent taste for reading, the multiplication of means of education. . . . Where shall

we look for the rankest development of this terrible combination, but in the hideous anomalies of civilization which are to be found in the tenant-house system? . . . (*Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Examine into the Condition of Tenant-houses in New York and Brooklyn, N.Y. State Assembly Document No. 205, 1857*).

The Committee had pointed out earlier who was living in these horrible slums. If I may quote a bit more:

But we must pass over without description hundreds of dilapidated, dirty and densely populated old structures which the committee inspected in different wards and which come under the head of re-adapted, reconstructed or altered buildings. In most of them the Irish are predominant, as occupants, though in some streets Negroes are found swarming from cellar to garret of tottering tenant houses. In this connection it may be well to remark, that in some of the better class of houses built for tenantry, Negroes have been preferred as occupants to Irish or German poor; the incentive to possessing comparatively decent quarters appearing to inspire the colored residents with more desire for cleanliness and regard for property than is impressed on the whites of their own condition. . . . (*Ibid*).

Make no mistake. This Committee had no particular respect for the foreign poor. They did not think good housing would enable good foreigners to remain good; rather good housing would enable Americans to reform the evil ways of foreign people. The tribal practice had been given a new tone; but they were the same words.

As a surety we must, as a people, act upon this foreign element, or it will act on us. Like the vast Atlantic, we must decompose and cleanse the impurities which rush into our midst, or like the inland lake, we will receive the poison into our whole national system (*Ibid*).

All this time, of course, while the Daybreak Boys were breaking the skulls of rival gangs or decent citizens, and while committee after committee spoke philosophically about the evil immigrant poor, hundreds of thousands of these supposedly evil immigrants were pushing their way courageously through poverty and exploitation, were working hard to bring up decent families against hopeless odds; were laying the solid bricks, with human courage and human hope, of what was to be the greatest city of the world.

But the eighteen-fifties passed. Came the Civil War, the draft riots, and after the Civil War, amidst the flowering of industry and commerce, the flowering again of those persistent elements of New York life—crime, slums and poverty. John Francis Maguire, the well-known Irish writer, came to observe how his fellow Irishmen were doing in America. Interestingly enough, he caught the fever of New York's writers very quickly. He found the city in a hopeless condition, with little indication that it would ever overcome the difficulties that faced it:

The evil of overcrowding is magnified to a prodigious extent in New York.

... There is scarcely any city in the world possessing greater resources than New York, but these resources have long since been strained to the uttermost to meet the yearly increasing demands created by this continuous accession to its inhabitants: and if there be not some check put to this undue increase of the population, for which even the available space is altogether inadequate, it is difficult to think what the consequences must be. Every succeeding year tends to aggravate the existing evils which, while rendering the necessity for a remedy more urgent, also render its nature and its application more difficult (James F. Maguire, *The Irish in America*, N.Y., 1868, p. 218-19).

There were less than 800,000 people in New York when Maguire wrote. If the available space was altogether inadequate then, I wonder what he would say about the nearly eight million who live in the city today. The remedy may have been urgent and difficult. But, somehow, although few people seemed to think so, it was being found. That there was reason for Maguire to say the things he did, and to say things even worse, becomes evident in a little more reading from Asbury:

Before the Civil War, the juvenile as well as the adult gangs were largely confined to the Five Points, the lower Bowery district, and the Fourth Ward, simply because these were the congested and poverty-stricken areas of the city; as the slums increased in extent, gangsters of all types and ages multiplied in numbers and power. By 1870 the streets throughout the greater part of New York fairly swarmed with

prowling bands of homeless boys and girls actively developing the criminal instinct which is inherent in every human being. While all of these gangs chose their titular leaders from their own ranks, a majority were at the same time under the domination of adult gangsters or professional thieves who taught the children to pick pockets, snatch purses and muffs, and steal everything they could lay their hands upon while they masked their real business by carrying bootblack outfits, baskets of flowers, or bundles of newspapers. . . .

There were the Forty Little Thieves, the Little Dead Rabbits, and the Little Plug Uglies, the members of which imitated their elders in speech and deed, and as far as possible in appearance. And in the Fourth Ward, along the Waterfront, were the Little Daybreak Boys, composed of lads from eight to twelve years of age who were almost as ferocious as the older gangsters whose name they adopted and whose crimes they strove mightily to imitate (pp. 238-39).

It is a rather disturbing and upsetting picture, isn't it? And if one saw nothing else, or failed to see these dismal situations against the background of all the other aspects of the city's life, he could easily conclude, as so many did, that the city was facing its last days.

There was one other group that was concerned about the situation, and we must not overlook the things they had to say. They were the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the United States who met for the Second Plenary Council at Baltimore in 1866. Urging the establishment of Catholic reform

schools or industrial schools, they wrote in their Pastoral Letter:

It is a melancholy fact and a very humiliating avowal for us to make, that a very large proportion of the idle and vicious youth of our principal cities are the children of Catholic parents. Whether from poverty or neglect, from the ignorance in which so many parents are involved as to the true nature of education, and of their duties as Christian parents, or from the associations which our youth so easily form with those who encourage them to disregard parental admonition, certain it is that a large number of Catholic parents either appear to have no idea of the sanctity of the Christian family, and of the responsibility imposed on them of providing for the moral training of their offspring, or fulfill this duty in a very imperfect manner. Day by day, these unhappy children are caught in the commission of petty crimes which render them amenable to the public authorities; and, day by day, they are transferred by hundreds from the sectarian reformatories into which they have been placed by the courts to distant localities where they are brought up in ignorance of, and most commonly, in hostility to the religion in which they were baptized (Martin J. Spalding, Ed. *Concilio Plenarii Baltimorensis II, 1866*, Baltimore, 1868, p. cxviii).

New York's Triumph

This, then, is part of the record of that old and peaceful and orderly life which so many New Yorkers long for when they read of the Royal Crowns and the Egyptian Kings. It was a life, like so much of New York's life, of crime and violence, of struggle and effort.

But with it all, the strong, human, creative elements won out. New York has not become what it is without struggle. If the struggle of the past gave us the greatness of the present, can we not expect that the struggle of the present will give us the even more impressive greatness of the future?

As we reach the time when my quotations end, about the year 1870, certainly we could say the city needed a rest. If only they could have stopped migrations to allow the city to catch up, to clear the slums, to eliminate the crime. And what happened? New ships appeared with new faces, bringing an even stranger babble of new tongues. The Italians and the Jews began to crowd in just about the time when the Irish and the Germans were finding themselves. Whereas the Irish may have brought 100,000 a year at some times, the new migration was to bring a million a year. New York had not seen the beginning of strangers. There developed a new challenge, new distress, new slums, new poverty, new crime—and hundreds of thousands of new immigrants to be blamed for it.

The record need not delay us. Jacob Riis was around to write some of it for us. *How the Other Half Lives* (America Century Series, N. Y., Sagamore Press, 1957) is fortunately out in a paper-back edition. Read it for yourselves. Were things bad in 1870? They were worse in 1890. Riis tells us there were gangs on every corner.

Where did they come from? Here we have not only a new tune, but a new script. Riis saw what many an intelligent person had seen before him. The gang was not the product of evil foreigners. It was the product of life in New York; the byproduct of generations lost in the confusion and bewilderment of their uprooting. The weak ones fell by the wayside when they faced the shock of molding a new way of life for themselves in a new world. It was the price we pay for a system that urges people of talent to advance socially and economically. Some are ground down in the process. This is the unfortunate result of a system in which parents of one culture will never fully understand the way of life of their children, and children will never fully understand the way of life of the parent.

These are some of the things we began to see more clearly toward the close of the last century. But the record of that century's history is eloquent. The crime that distressed the city, the slums and poverty that created such a constant burden on its life did not destroy the city's greatness. They became part of the goad, the stimulus, the challenge that evoked the energy and effort that made the city great.

Now again we have crime. We have slums. We have poverty. Again we face the traditional malady of the New Yorker. We hear the lament that the city is going to the dogs, and see the revival of

the old tribal practice of blaming our crimes and poverty on the Puerto Ricans who now find themselves socially in the slot where the Germans and Irish were a century ago.

In the perspective of the past we can take a brief look at the present. There is nothing in the record of the past or the experience of the present that gives us reason for composure. Crime and the poverty of city slums are terrible evils. But there is much in the record of the past that gives hope for the old New Yorkers, for the Puerto Ricans and for the Negroes. The record does not tell us that crime and poverty were ever easy. It simply tells us that they have always been here and that the citizens of New York have always had to exert enormous energy and courage to deal with them. That they have done surprisingly well.

Where the Problem Lies

Indeed, when one looks back over the experience of the immigrants, and when one looks closely at the experience of the Puerto Ricans, the marvel is not that there has been so much delinquency, but that there has been so little. As with every group of newcomers in the past, so with the Puerto Ricans. They are not nearly as great a problem for New York, as New York is a problem for them.

In the first place, delinquency is not something the Puerto Ricans bring with them. It is something that happens to them when they

get here. They come from a way of life which they cherish. They have traditions of respect. They know what to expect of others and what others expect of them. They know the things for which they will be honored and the things for which they will be punished or despised. Then they come to New York and all the expectations change. Uprooted from a way of life they once took for granted, they find themselves as strangers in a way of life they do not understand. Things that were right in Puerto Rico, they find are wrong here. Things that were wrong in Puerto Rico, they find are right here. Things that brought them honor in Puerto Rico, invite ridicule in New York. The values are different; norms are no longer consistent. Life becomes confused. They are the "uprooted," and the suffering that has marked the coming of every group of immigrants, now begins to shake the framework on which their life was built.

One young Puerto Rican man whom I know stopped me the other day and remarked: "Father, things are not going too well with my little girl. She is fourteen now and in the ninth grade. But her mother goes to school with her and calls for her when school is over. The girl is beginning to rebel against this. The other girls make fun of her and of her mother. I don't know what to do." How many sincere and interested teachers both in the Catholic and public schools have remarked to me in regard to the Puerto Rican

mothers who wait outside the school for their children at the end of class: "Father, why don't you tell them to let up on the children? They're making babies out of them."

Here we have the case of conscientious Puerto Rican parents trying, in the best way they know how, to protect their children, especially their young girls. Protection of the young girl is a serious responsibility for a good family in Puerto Rico. They do not escort them to school and back because they know what to expect in Puerto Rico. They understand the situation and have no fears. But in New York fear prompts them to exercise their responsibility in the best way they know how. As they do so, the child may be ridiculed; the parents may be criticized or laughed at. Family authority is weakened. Old norms of control are shaken, and conflict between the generations is in the making.

Another young Puerto Rican I know has a young boy about six years old. The boy has been in school now for two years. I asked the father recently: "How is the young boy making out?" The father replied with a shrug of the shoulders, half in amusement, half in bewilderment: "Father, he is a true American; he is already telling me how much I do not know."

Many children in Puerto Rico have the beautiful custom of asking their parents or their elders for a blessing when they go out, come home or when they go to bed. It is part of that pattern of "respect"

that is often taught to Puerto Rican children. Explaining how these customs are undermined in New York, a wonderful young woman, a Puerto Rican school teacher, deeply devoted to her people, told me the following story: "I was visiting an aunt of mine one day, and two of my small cousins, recently arrived from Puerto Rico, came in to see her. They bounced in gleefully and, when they saw my aunt, they called out '*Bendición, Tía*' ('Your blessing, please, Auntie.')" "Father," she said, "I feel humiliated to tell you what happened. But, I laughed. The children turned to me, puzzled and confused. A practice of reverence, for which they were praised in Puerto Rico, had become an object of laughter in New York."

In how many other aspects of life does this not occur. The behavior of a wife which we would define as part of "togetherness," the self-reliance, the alertness of the American woman, might strike a Puerto Rican wife and husband as a sign of sinful disrespect. The devotion of a woman to her husband, schooled in them by centuries of tradition, they find criticized as excessive subordination, the lack of proper female independence.

When you talk with so many good Puerto Rican parents, one refrain is constant: "It is impossible to bring a child up in New York." The qualities of independence, of self-reliance, of assertiveness which we admire and try to teach children as necessary virtues in our competitive American system strike the

Puerto Rican parent as a lack of proper childhood respect. The child lives one way of life in the home. He is taught another way of life in the school. Parent will never fully understand child, and child will never fully understand parent. The seeds of the conflict between the generations are being sown.

These are the difficulties which come from the uprooting. Millions of immigrants have faced them before. The Puerto Ricans are facing them now. Fortunately, most people manage to become adjusted to them without serious distress. The Puerto Ricans will do the same. But in the process, if there is weakness in the family or weakness in the personality, disorganization sets in, mental illness and delinquency appear, and the price for the great values of migration and urban living are paid in the distress of old and new resident in the turmoil of social and cultural change.

This was so vividly illustrated in the case of Julio Rosario, the young Puerto Rican who died in the gang warfare of the lower East Side last August. Julio apparently came from a good family. His father, with the strength and spiritual qualities of a patriarch, bore the trial of his son's death with a dignity, a composure, an acceptance of God's will that brought tears to the eyes of many who watched him. At the end of his son's Requiem Mass, he embraced each of the priests and the altar boys in gratitude for this service to his son. How much he had wanted to give to his son that

wonderful dignity characteristic of the man from the hills of Puerto Rico, that quality which would bring so much richness to New York if we could only save it. How much he wanted to give his son that which he was himself. And how much the son would have been blessed in receiving it. But life in New York got in the way. Things that gave a boy dignity and honor in the countryside of Puerto Rico were not the things that gave a boy dignity and honor on Forsyth Street. Things that were rewarded in a Puerto Rican village were not the things that were rewarded in the churning life of the lower East Side. What a new and strange world of values, of struggle, of loyalty, dignity and pride was reflected in Julio's words. After he had received the last rites, he slipped into semi-consciousness, mumbling: "Tell the guys they can count on me; tell them I'll be there."

How easy it is to blame delinquency on the parents. In many cases they must certainly share the blame. But how unfair we can sometimes be in giving the impression that any decent family should be able to avoid the tragedies that strike frequently in the troubled neighborhoods of a city like New York.

Toward a Remedy

What I have said does not begin to explain delinquency. I hope it will explain what the great majority of Puerto Ricans are going through. I hope it will help us realize that we.

can help the Puerto Ricans avoid delinquency but not by criticizing them. They do not need statistics to tell them about delinquency. They live in the face of it, they suffer from the behavior of delinquents much more than we do, they understand, much better than their middle and upper class American critics, the difficulties that many of their people face in disorganized family life, in poverty, in exploitation. But they also understand what I hope we will all come to understand, the greatness that lies in the hearts of so many of their people, their generosity and respect for friendship, their desire to become part of the life of New York.

In this regard, I could hardly exhort you to do anything better, as Catholic students, than to imitate the example of our spiritual leader, Cardinal Spellman. The public has not yet begun to realize or appreciate the extraordinary effort His Eminence is making to ensure that we will receive the Puerto Ricans as our brothers and sisters in Christ. At enormous expense in money and manpower, he has been sending large numbers of his priests and sisters to Puerto Rico for spe-

cial training that will enable them to work more effectively with the Puerto Ricans in New York. Indeed, in the history of migrations, I know of no other instance where a receiving diocese has gone to such unusual lengths to prepare its priests and sisters to understand the culture and the background of the newcomers in order to receive them as its own. History will probably look upon this as a social miracle. What a pity it would be if, while His Eminence strives so hard to have the Puerto Ricans received with respect, we should alienate them by lack of understanding, discourtesy or prejudice.

I trust that my words have been of some guidance and some help. Perhaps, in the year 2059, when some Jesuit priest may be addressing Fordham students in the ancient halls of Lincoln Square, he may recall that in 1959, when Puerto Ricans were coming to New York, a group of Fordham students met in Shealy Hall and decided to break the old tribal practice of blaming everything on the newcomers, and to receive the Puerto Ricans with understanding, dignity and respect, not as strangers, but as their own.

On the theory that a religious man is less of a danger to the state than a man with a mind for politics, the Soviet Government today practices a policy of tactical liberalism in regard to religion.

Religion in the USSR*

JACQUES NANTET

AS I GO through the notes I made on a recent trip to the USSR, three strike me as throwing light on the question of the reliability of the information and impressions one gets in that country.

In the first place, I had been told that the Moscow crowd was drably and poorly dressed. Certainly at first glance one does feel there is something odd about the Muscovite's appearance. One could easily be led to conclude that this was due to the poverty of his wardrobe. But in Leningrad, where people in fact dress in much the same way as in Moscow, the impression left is quite different. The reason is that, whereas

in Leningrad we find a population that has always been urban, the Muscovite is fresh from the country. Between 1917 and 1958 the population of Moscow increased from 600,000 to more than 6 million, and the immense majority of the newcomers are peasants unfamiliar with town ways. What gives us the feeling of strangeness about Moscow is really the unexpected rustic appearance of these new inhabitants.

Again, I had heard the fact that even V.I.P.'s sit in the front of their cars beside their chauffeurs put forward as an example of the real democratic feeling one finds in the So-

*The translation of an article which originally appeared in *Signes du Temps*, reprinted from *Blackfriars*, 24 Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.1, England, July-August, 1959.

viet. During my visit, however, I discovered that the seat next to the driver is considered to be the place of honor. Thus what had been taken for charmingly straightforward behavior was, on the contrary, simply the rigid application of protocol.

Then there is the instructive lesson to be drawn from those huge socialist-realist paintings one is constantly coming across. Often enough these simply reproduce the scene where they are hung. At the Universal Exhibition, for example, we find a huge canvas depicting a happy colorful throng of good-looking young men and women—all visiting the Exhibition. The office of the director of a sweet factory is reflected in the picture which adorns it, just as a painstaking reproduction of the university hangs over the rector's head. In all these cases, of course, the image is just a bit better than the original. For that is what socialist-realism means: facts are to be represented at the same time as they are and as they ought to be.

No doubt the same principle underlies all the information which is given out in Russia. We may well say that this is no longer truth as we understand it in the West. But neither, perhaps, is it propaganda. It is simply socialist-realism, which sees reality as projected within the wider terms of reference of a system and thus given a slightly different meaning from what our Western objective analysis would yield.

So much for the reservations one must have as regards one's findings

during a visit to Russia. With this in mind I pass on my reflections on the state of religion in that country today.

I have the impression that the Soviet leaders are faced with a phenomenon of the first importance in the rebirth of faith, at least among Christians and Jews. No doubt each instance of this rebirth has its own individual causes. Yet, in general, one can say that it arises from a profound sense of disillusionment with Marxism, which has been found to give rise to boredom and a sense of emptiness and of loss of vitality. The most interesting instances of this are to be found in the milieus apparently the best adapted to the regime and among those who have been the most privileged under Soviet rule. Thus the wife of a German university man who has lived in close contact with young Soviet intellectuals has related how these, once they let themselves go in free discussions, raise such problems as the origin of energy which only a creator, it would seem, could draw out of nothingness. They criticize a materialism which has produced results in the realm of building but failed to give people the freedom they expected of it. They conclude that they must render to the state the things that are the state's, but unto God the things that are God's, even if at this stage they do not wish to identify themselves with any definite confession. Such a commitment would be regarded as a reactionary step.

At the opposite pole, I myself

came across some less intellectual people who liked to follow the Orthodox liturgy, finding in its ceremonies and archaisms (the language, for example) something that evoked the Russian past and so gave them that sense of continuity for which so many of the Russian people long.

Soviet Russia Today

It is essential to try and see this religious revival which these doubts and longings accompany or herald against the background of the official USSR of today. There it is figures, percentages, techniques and production that fill the attention. Politics as we understand them in the West have largely disappeared. Meet the President and Cabinet of any of the southern republics and you will find them speaking the same language as farm or factory managers. High officials have only one preoccupation: catching up with the Americans. That is why, probably in all sincerity, all want peace: without peace work in progress would stop. Peace abroad is the first consideration. But internal peace is essential too.

One can well imagine, therefore, that for the Soviet leaders a religious man is much less of a danger than a man with a mind for politics. A Trotskyite brings to life problems the state wishes to banish forever, while a Christian is no problem at all: he fits easily into the framework of Orthodoxy with which one can easily come to terms. Rather than have them plotting against the state

it is preferable that the Muslim, the Jew and the Christian should be free after working hours to go to his mosque, synagogue or church. So doing they will in no wise interfere with what seems to be the guiding line of contemporary Soviet policy—catching up with the production norms and standard of living of the capitalist countries.

Such is the explanation of the liberal attitude at present adopted towards Christians, Jews and Muslims. Faced with a religious revival, the authorities have made up their minds to recognize it and grant freedom of worship. To their mind it is probably only a hangover from the old capitalist regime which will die out in time given a new social climate.

This present tactic is in full accord with Soviet legality, for liberty of worship is guaranteed by article 124 of the Constitution. This has been interpreted in a more generous sense since the First World War when an appeal was made for a kind of national unity. A decree of November 1954 reaffirmed this principle. On that occasion Mr. Khrushchev denounced errors made in the conduct of propaganda in favor of scientific atheism among the people. Let us note, however, that this atheistic propaganda (it too is inscribed in the Constitution) has not completely disappeared. It has even been intensified among the intelligentsia—which proves that this sector of the population is not unaffected by it. But it has become less crude and is now chiefly concerned with show-

ing that religion is unscientific. As late as 1957 a pamphlet attacking religious Judaism could appear. Nevertheless, the truth of the matter is that this propaganda doesn't sell. It meets with almost complete indifference.

In fact, by feeling its way between the Marxist theory which remains its chief source of inspiration, and the needs of the hour which require flexible day-to-day tactics, the Soviet system goes on moving and developing. And if, before my visit behind the Iron Curtain, I had the idea that a very abnormal state of affairs existed outside the free world, I have come back with the conviction that gradually there has grown up a *modus vivendi* which is allowing the various religions to survive in Russia. The Catholic Church alone, due as much to its claims to universality as to the Russian national and religious traditions, is in a rather more difficult position.

Christians in Russia

If in Moscow the Novodevichy Monastery left me with a rather poor impression of the state of Russian Orthodoxy today, as soon as I left the city, all was changed. As I drove through the little villages on the Russian plain of a Sunday, I was surprised to see the population making its way to church for all the world just like our villagers in France. And I had the same feeling when I had a look at the little church in Moscow opposite the new university which is one of the thirty-eight open for worship in the city.

The Orthodox priests who serve these churches do not seem unhappy. They can often be seen going about the town in cars. Not, however, on foot: wearing the soutane in the streets, even if permitted by the law, has never in fact been practised since the Revolution. I have been given to believe that the generosity of the faithful sometimes assures the priests more than 5,000 rubles a month, the equivalent of the salary of a university lecturer or of a Stakhanovite miner.

The monastery of Zagorsk, seventy kilometres from Moscow, was founded nearly six hundred years ago by St. Serge. It is one of the most important in the whole of the USSR. The Patriarch Alexis, the head of the Russian Church, is its superior. Every day, even during the week, the six churches within its precincts are very busy, whilst on Sundays one finds quite a crowd, made up mostly of women, young and old, but also including plenty of children and men of all ages.

The presence of these children is most significant, for it shows that many men, even if they do not go to church themselves, nevertheless are willing that their children should receive religious instruction. The religious community of Zagorsk functions simultaneously as a monastery (one hundred monks), a parish (fifty priests serve the churches), a seminary (for Moscow; two hundred and fifty young priests are ordained there each year) and an academy (faculty) of theology; it is also an important intellectual cen-

ter. The Patriarch Alexis who often resides there is in correspondence with the leading thinkers of the Orthodox world.

If we of the West are sometimes a little disconcerted by the sight of Russian congregations at prayer (ecstatic looks, the sign of the Cross made over and over again at high speed, etc.) and by some of their customs (e.g., the sale of holy water), it would seem that the present religious revival is also responsible for a big yield of vocations especially in new milieus. Traditionally, the priesthood in Russia descended from father to son, but this has now become rare. Real vocations nowadays often come from agnostic circles or working-class families. It is true that the secure comfort of a seminary professor (2,500 rubles a month) or the priest's stability of employment (he has a good salary, benefits from the state's social insurance scheme and in old age gets a pension from the Patriarchate) could act as inducements. There is a big demand for priests. In each new village that is founded (e.g., in Siberia), a parish is established. The effect of war damage must also be taken into account. Thus all the churches in Stalingrad have just been rebuilt and need priests. All in all, the impression one gets in Zagorsk is that the religious movement is in full swing as much because faith is reviving as because the state no longer hampers the running of the Orthodox Church.

Nor are things different at Tiflis. There during the worst of the per-

secution only a few churches were able to remain open. Today, there are some eighteen dissident churches (thirteen of the Georgian Rite, three Russian and two Armenian), all well-attended even by young people as I was able to see for myself. The same is true of the single Latin rite Catholic Church in that town. Sermons are preached there in Russian and sometimes in Greek, and one feels that the Russian influence is in the ascendant. The numerous icons would seem at least to point that way.

The Orthodox Church

In the well-appointed office of the Patriarchate in Moscow, the Metropolitan Nicholas, the most important figure after the Patriarch himself, gave me an overall picture of the state of the Orthodox Church. Its territory is divided into seventy-eight eparchies each ruled by a bishop appointed by the Patriarch alone without any government intervention. The Patriarch has a synod which advises him in important affairs; each bishop is assisted by a diocesan council; again on the parochial level the parish priest has his elected church council. Out of his church income each parish priest must send a part to the eparchy which in turn has to give a percentage to the Patriarch. The Patriarch has thus quite large sums at his disposal, and these he uses to finance the clergy pension fund and to support poor parishes at home and needy co-religionists abroad.

According to the best figures,

there are about thirty million faithful divided among 20,000 parishes and 35,000 priests. The religious life is followed in sixty-nine houses by some 5,000 monks or nuns (at Kiev alone there are three convents and 900 nuns). The rule of these religious houses makes work as well as prayer an obligation. Each monk must earn his own livelihood either on the monastic farm in the country or by craftsmanship in the town. Two Academies of Theology (Moscow-Zagorsk and Leningrad) with their four-year courses serve as a focus for the higher intellectual life of the Church, while there are eight seminaries for the education of young students for the priesthood.

The seminarists spend four years in study, enjoying with other students the right of postponement of military service; and every year about forty young men are ordained from each seminary. In addition, the Leningrad Seminary ordains five to six hundred young men who have done their studies by correspondence, and a similar scheme at Moscow provides a hundred new priests yearly. This force of more than a thousand priests a year suffices, it would seem, for the needs of public worship. There has been, too, a steady increase over the years. At Leningrad there were 74 enrolled students in 1946, 172 in 1950, 320 in 1952, and 396 in 1953.

Relations between Church and State are taken care of by a special government department. Total separation is the general principle at work, churches, seminaries and con-

vents being put at the disposal of the hierarchy for the needs of public worship, while the upkeep of personnel and buildings is entirely the responsibility of the Church.

Within the limits imposed by severe paper-rationing, the Patriarch is free to publish what he pleases and has his own press. In 1956 this brought out a Bible. Despite the fact that no religious publication can be sold outside churches, seminaries or convents, the printing of 55,000 copies was exhausted and a new edition is now in preparation. The *Journal* of the Patriarchate has appeared monthly since 1943 (I was given a specimen copy and noticed a picture of Mr. Khrushchev on the inside page of the cover). Recently a collection of the acts, letters and sermons of the Patriarch Alexis and the Metropolitan Nicholas has come out, as well as some rare liturgical books, but so far no work of theology, exegesis or spirituality. It would appear that the theological revival concentrates on the study of the Fathers.

I asked Metropolitan Nicholas how a belief in the spiritual could adapt itself to Marxist surroundings or how there could be harmony between the Church and a State which will only hear of historical materialism. He replied that a distinction must be made within Marxism between the materialism to which the Church remains fundamentally opposed and the socialism which presents no difficulty to the Christian conscience. Besides, he added, while it was Peter the Great who sup-

pressed the Patriarchate, leaving the Russian Church for two centuries with only a metropolitan at its head, it was the Revolution of February 1917 which led to its restoration. Moreover, the situation had improved (in theory if not in fact) since 1927 when the existence of the Orthodox hierarchy was recognized in law.

Metropolitan Nicholas considers that the figures we have just given are significant when it is remembered that it takes a congregation of 2,000 to keep a church going. For this would mean that, by and large, church attendance has by now returned to within 50 per cent of the 1915 figures. How does the Metropolitan explain this veritable resurrection, a resurrection that has taken place in what are still very difficult circumstances, seeing that religious instruction cannot be given to children except by the priest visiting the home? We must thank the grandmothers, his reply would be, for it was they who maintained the tradition of religion in the worst days of the persecution. And it is still above all the poor, the simple folk, who are being converted, not so much the students as the young workers and peasants; rarely, it must be admitted, members of the party.

Coming now to relations with the Russian Orthodox outside the USSR, the Metropolitan affirmed that nearly all of these come under Moscow, only those in North and South America remaining apart. Relations between Constantinople and Mos-

cow, the two great capitals of Orthodoxy, seem quite good and there is some talk now of the convocation of a Pan-Orthodox Council. The Russian Church refused in 1948 to take part in the Ecumenical Council at Amsterdam, but since then Metropolitan Nicholas has visited Utrecht and it seems as if this first official contact should have quite positive results.

What are to be our conclusions on Orthodoxy in the USSR today, remembering that its activities form the lion's share of the religious movement in that country? Certainly the temporal power does not oppose it even if the official atheistic propaganda goes on as we have seen. But can we not go further? Is not the Government seeking to make use of the vast machinery which the Russian Orthodox Church as now reconstituted represents? Among many other things, the behavior of the official who accompanied me during my visit to the Patriarchate tends to make me think so. This fine diplomat, Marxist and atheist though he was, showed such marked respect toward the Metropolitan that one couldn't but be surprised. This was scarcely the attitude a triumphant power adopts towards a beaten rival whose continued existence is tolerated. It was rather the kind of behavior one sees between partners who have come to a mutually advantageous understanding which they desire to keep going.

I remained skeptical when the Metropolitan stated that since 1917

there had been no further proselytism between rival churches, for I could not but remember that as late as 1945 the Uniate churches in the Ukraine, in Poland and Rumania had been forcibly removed from their allegiance to Rome and placed under the authority of the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow. I remembered too how I had been told at Tiflis that the Greek Melchite church had been the only one there which had not been allowed to reopen for worship. All this reveals the governmental support given to Orthodoxy at the expense of Catholics, especially those of Oriental rites, as well as of any form of Orthodoxy subject to Constantinople. Besides, I had myself had occasion when in Israel to observe how the Russian monasteries in that country, especially those in Galilee, were used as channels of infiltration.

The authorities indeed have probably made up their minds to make full use of this revival of institutional religion. Hence the role assigned to the Russian Church in Central Europe and the Middle East, and even among the Orthodox in Ethiopia and Egypt. The Moscow Patriarchate, for example, denounced the Suez landings. What we are witnessing in the USSR is in fact an unhappy compromise of a very complex nature which, while contributing greatly to the renaissance of Christianity in the country, also favors certain Soviet aims in the world at large. But for all that it must never be forgotten that the Russian Church has kept itself in

being with exemplary courage in the most dramatic circumstances, and that it has always struggled to save the faith in Slav lands.

Other Christian Bodies

The Old Believers. Breaking off from Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century, mainly for liturgical reasons, and remaining for a long period without bishops, the Old Believers, as they call themselves, now number some 850,000 faithful under twelve bishops. There are about 50,000 of them in Moscow alone. The community has been recognized by the state, enjoys the same privileges as the Orthodox Church, and has its headquarters in a Patriarchate (or Archbishopric) in Moscow. Like the Orthodox they have now grown once again to nearly fifty per cent of their pre-revolution strength. One hears that conversations are taking place between Orthodox and Old Believers with a view to reunion.

Baptists. A special importance attaches to the Baptists in Russia. As is understandable, they have a special link with the Anglo-Saxon world. This, however, so far from being a disadvantage, has actually led to their being treated benevolently by the Government: they represent a card that could be played in the Cold War. Numbering about 500,000 and growing rapidly (30,000 new members a year according to their own figures), they are divided up into small communities with practically no central

organization, and are particularly strong in the Ukraine.

It is among the Baptists that one finds the greatest proportion of young people. Their comparative lack of organization suits the Russian temperament, while, for their part, they say that Russia more than any other country is a most fruitful field for the spread of the Baptist message. One very significant thing is to be noted: as a quite special measure, they are permitted to send their candidates for the ministry abroad to complete their studies. At the moment, there are six of these in London.

The Catholic Church. In Russia itself, the Catholic community of the Latin rite has always been drawn from foreign minorities. It is not a truly native element. On the other hand, in Latvia, Lithuania and the Polish Ukraine it represents the last outpost of the West and is deeply rooted there. Since the Baltic countries are difficult of access, there is little information to be had about the position of Catholics there. But at Moscow's Catholic Church information about the Church's position in the USSR as a whole is readily given. There are 1,250 parishes in the Soviet Union, 600 of these being in Lithuania, three in Latvia, most of the remainder in the Polish Ukraine. Altogether there are eight bishops: five in Lithuania and three in Latvia. The parishes in other parts come under these Lithuanian and Latvian bishops, the church in Moscow, for example, being subject to the Bishop of Riga.

There are two seminaries, one at Riga with thirty students, the other at Kaunas with seventy.

In Moscow itself, the Catholic parish is about 2,000 strong, the majority (80 per cent) being of Polish origin. The young are poorly represented, forming only about ten per cent of the whole. The community, however, seems well-to-do, and about sixty members of Moscow's diplomatic corps attend the church. The parish priest is a Pole and would seem to be in good circumstances, but little is known about the real condition of other Catholics.

The Jews

From what I was able to pick up in the USSR, I gathered that the Jewish religion is, surprisingly enough, very much alive. In Moscow alone, where the Jewish population is between 400,000 and 500,000 (the other great centers are Leningrad with 300,000 Jews, few of whom practise their religion however, and Kiev with 200,000), there are three large synagogues and about fifty small ones. One of the large ones which I visited was full every evening and at the hour of prayer. On a quite ordinary day I saw there more than 200 men, most of them young. Stranger though I was, I found myself welcomed there without any reservation, and the replies to my questions came quite spontaneously even through the medium of an interpreter.

I had the same kind of welcome in the little synagogue at Tiflis where there are some 40,000 Jews

(there are only 10,000 Jews in the rest of Georgia, among these several thousand in a Jewish kolkhoz 300 kilometres to the north of Tiflis). I was surrounded by a crowd of young people who peppered me with questions: "Do the Jews in France practise their religion?" "What about the Christians?" They told me that the Jewish community in Tiflis is one of the oldest in the world, and that they have no desire to move to Birobidjan (a Jewish state created by the Soviets on the border of Manchuria where there are now, after several false starts and periods of repression, about 40,000 Jews—one per cent of the total Jewish population). They prefer to work in the nationalized stores and at the traditional crafts of Tiflis. When, however, I mentioned that only two months previously I had been in Israel and Jerusalem, a respectful silence fell upon the group. They looked at me with envy in their eyes. And since nobody dared to ask me any more questions, I did not dare to ask any more myself.

This phenomenon of silence is in my opinion extremely important, and I came across it in every synagogue I visited. In general the synagogues are kept in very good repair and at Tiflis extensive alterations are taking place, which would suggest some degree of security and wealth. This indeed is not astonishing for I was told that on the great feast days (Rosh ha-Shana, for instance) all the synagogues in the capital and in the provinces alike are packed, with the worshippers

overflowing into the streets. At the last Rosh ha-Shana there were 10-, 000 present in one of the big Moscow synagogues alone.

At the headquarters of the Chief Rabbi of Moscow (he is also Chief Rabbi of the whole of the Soviet Union) information is freely given on the state of religion among the Jews of Russia. But while it is known that there are three million Jews in the USSR, it is impossible to give a figure for those who practise their religion. It is likely, however, that the figure is a high one, as we have just seen. Vis-à-vis the state, Judaism enjoys the same status as Orthodoxy and all the other officially recognized religious communities as regards allotment and upkeep of places of worship, and the Chief Rabbi negotiates with the Council for Public Worship about these matters. At Moscow there is a college for the education of future rabbis. These are in sufficient number to meet the needs of the whole country. I was shown the prayer-book (the latest edition came out in 1956) and the newspapers which the Jewish communities publish.

Does the Chief Rabbi have any complaints? None at all. Everything is going smoothly. Vocations are plentiful. There have even been eighty *shochetim* ("sacrificers"—for the provision of kosher meat) trained in the last two years. He has only two regrets: circumcision, forbidden in Stalin's time, is still little practised; and, it is felt, the crowds on feast days would be even greater than they are, were the Jewish workers

allowed special holidays. This, however, has been systematically refused.

But the real Jewish problem in the USSR—and it is recognized that there is one—has little to do with the question of religion as such. As we have seen, the Jews have considerable freedom of worship. The difficulty rests rather in the existence of a Jewish national feeling which could all too easily open the door to Zionism. It would rather seem that freedom of the press is limited to the case of religious publications in Hebrew, while everything to do with Jewish culture, especially in its Yiddish form, is to all intents and purposes forbidden.

There have been numerous promises of an improvement in this matter. Yet today there is only one Yiddish paper published, the *Birobidjaner Shtern* which appears three times a week in Birobidjan. Recently some Yiddish books have been translated into Russian; more recently still three concerts of Yiddish folk music have been given. But all this amounts to very little.

Here, perhaps, we have at least a partial explanation of the throngs of young people in the synagogues. The outlets which Zionism and the traditional culture of their forefathers could give them being denied, yet still endowed with the deep community sense of their race, these young people resort to the only place left where they can meet their fellow-Jews: the synagogue. It seems to me significant that in the synagogues I kept hearing time and

time again of Birobidjan (purely lay development though that be), while in Moscow I was told that quite a large number of young folk had moved to that region. This took place at a time when the State was increasing its propaganda in favor of such emigration, in an effort to find an answer to that deep national feeling of the Jew which remains unshaken in the face of all opposition.

Islam

When I told Mr. Zhukov, the deputy Minister for Cultural Affairs at Moscow, that I intended my survey of religion in the USSR to include Islam, he remarked that in that case I must not miss visiting the Muslim republics in the south. Before setting out for these, I had the opportunity of visiting the mosque at Leningrad which had been built in pre-revolutionary times for the ten thousand Tartars to be found in that area, and which is open to the public. Then I flew straight from Leningrad to the shores of the Black Sea and reached the autonomous republic of Abkhazia.

This is a dependency of the federal republic of Georgia, and its population of some three hundred thousand is half Muslim, half Greek Orthodox. On next to Georgia itself, where there is a small minority of about twenty thousand Muslims, of whom about half live in Tbilisi, the ancient Tiflis. This town has a mosque which is functioning, as is the one in Batumi about two hun-

dred kilometres away. What I witnessed in the mosque at Tiflis is typical of many such visits, all made at the evening hour of prayer. In the part set aside for women there were about fifteen worshippers, all of them unveiled, and a large number of children. There were hardly ever any men.

In Georgia, and, as I later discovered, in Azerbaidjan too, the mosques are shared turn and turn about by the Sunnites, the major and orthodox Muslim grouping, and by the Shiites, who, though forming only about ten per cent of the Muslim world as a whole, are very numerous here owing to the proximity of the region to Iran. This surprising arrangement has been in force since the Revolution. The Georgian Muslims work mainly in factories, although many of them are taxi-drivers. They rarely engage in agriculture.

In contrast with Georgia, nearly all the population of Azerbaidjan is Muslim. In the capital city of Baku I visited the fine mosque and subsequently had a long conversation with the leaders of the two communities, the Sheik El Islam of the Shiites, and the Sunnite Grand Mufti, a conversation rendered somewhat difficult by reason of the double interpretation involved, there being nobody at hand sufficiently proficient in both French and Azerbaidjani. Seemingly in order to maintain a strict equality between their two sects, the spokesmen would both reply in turn to the same question.

They began by affirming their satisfaction with the separation between religion and the state resulting from the Revolution which granted Muslims autonomy in their confessional affairs and freedom of worship. Mosques and seminaries belong to the state, but are put at the disposal of the Muslim authorities who are responsible for the expenses of maintenance and worship. Services are well attended (I could not however, no matter how often I asked, get any figures). Vocations are sufficiently numerous to keep the mosque services going, even in Georgia. The spokesmen admitted, however, that those who attend the mosques—and these are equally divided between the two sects—belong to the older age-groups, while the younger generation tends to stay away.

The system of sharing the mosques works out quite well, and equally applies to the two seminaries at Tashkent and Bokhara (where there is also a large theological academy). In these seminaries the students are taught the four principal points of difference between the two sects, and every year some one hundred and ten complete their studies, many of these going on to the great Islamic faculty of El Azhar in Cairo. At Bokhara and Tashkent the principal religious publications are produced, such as calendars, editions of the Koran and a monthly review. There is quite a flourishing intellectual life in these two centers.

The administration of Islam in Azerbaidjan, Georgia and Armenia

is in the hands of a committee elected each year in the course of a congress. This board consists of nine muftis (five Shiite and four Sunnite), two for Georgia, two for Armenia, one for Kirovabad and four for Baku. One of these last is elected Sheik El Islam, but he must be a Shiite since at Baku the majority belongs to that sect. The vice-president is a Sunnite. A seminary is shortly to be built at Baku itself, but in the meantime Azerbaidjan alone sends some ten to fifteen young men a year to study at Bokhara or Tashkent.

This, however, is only a small part of the total Muslim strength of the USSR. The total Muslim population, in fact, amounts to some 40 million concentrated mainly in central Asia and the Caucasus, and this makes the Soviet the third largest Muslim power in the world, after Pakistan and Indonesia. There are, indeed, three other centers quite independent of the Sheik El Islam. These are: Ufa where a mufti is in charge of all the Muslims in the European parts of Russia and Siberia; Makhach Kala, for Daghestan and the northern Caucasus; Tashkent, for the 30 million Muslims of central Asia. Tashkent is, in fact, the true geographical center of Soviet Islam. Faith there remains very much alive and the population is traditionalist. Even agnostics, for instance, refrain from eating pork, while Samarkand is still a constant center of pilgrimage. From Tashkent emissaries visit the five federal Muslim republics of central

Asia: Uzbekistan with 6.3 million inhabitants, Turkmenistan with 1.3 million, Kazakhstan with 6.5 million, Tadjikistan with 1.5 million and Kirghizia with 1.5 million.

From this general survey of Islam in the USSR it is evident that the Muslims enjoy quite a considerable measure of freedom of worship. It can even be said that the very structures of Islam are maintained by the state. Certainly the autonomy enjoyed by a republic like Abkhazia provides the Muslims of the area with a familiar enough background and setting. Abkhazia and Azerbaidjan, both of which have a full apparatus of government (the latter even has a Minister for Foreign Affairs), constitute real Muslim states. In Azerbaidjan even, the non-Muslim minority of about three hundred thousand is administered in a special way in the autonomous territory of Karaba where 75 per cent of the population are Armenian Catholics.

It is probable that Soviet diplomacy benefits from this situation. The some sixty pilgrims (nearly always high dignitaries) who are allowed each year to go to Mecca, serve as a useful testimony to Soviet penetration in the Middle East, while the well-appointed and excellently directed academy of theology at Bokhara is a show-piece which Muslims from abroad are invited to see. Far from burning bridges as it is often accused of doing, the Soviet permits these contacts and even initiates them. Azerbaidjan exports petrol and rubber to Muslim coun-

tries and has sealed economic and cultural agreements with Iran.

Despite all this, however, a deep and constant effort of Russification goes on. The transformation of society and material progress (modern methods have increased oil production from 2 million tons in 1920 to 17 million today) have been a severe blow to Islam, which has been hard put to it to survive in the changing milieu. The Russian language has penetrated everywhere, and, of course, in the last resort, orders are constantly coming from Moscow. We have the admission of the religious authorities themselves to the loss of faith among the younger generation. How could it be otherwise with a religion with which the social customs of everyday life are so thoroughly mingled; when, for example, the use of the veil and polygamy have been suppressed? At Baku I attended a dancing exhibition given by some local girls of between ten and fifteen years of age. After some regional items had been given, a part of the program was devoted to dances *à la Moscow* which the children had been taught. It is difficult to imagine little girls subjected to such a training and influence grow-

ing up later into good Muslim wives.

With these reflections I must close. What is true for Islam is true for other religions as well. The Soviet system as a whole, under the influence of Marxism, continues to exercise pressure on every form of religious belief in the name of historical materialism. But the Marxist dialectic is supple. In the hands of extremely skilful statesmen it marks out for itself certain objectives and to these everything else is sacrificed. The immediate objectives at present are production, investment and a rise in the standard of living. With this in view a certain degree of thaw is necessary at home as well as abroad, and in this respect a Christian is easier to deal with than a Trotskyite.

How long this tactic will continue to be considered a useful one is an important question for us all. For my part I think it will last a long time. But in the last resort, what is even more significant than this tactical liberalism adopted by the Soviet Government as regards religion is the failure of every renewed effort of the anti-religious propaganda. There one sees what the people of the USSR really think.

American employers and workers are in the front trenches of the Cold War. For both, then, this should be a day of rededication to high ideals. It should be a day of reconsecration to the moral law of God which, even more than the law of the land, must govern their relationships.

The Labor Movement Today*

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"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice; for they shall be satisfied" (Matthew 5:6).

WITHIN A few days Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier and the Butcher of Budapest, will be the official guest of the Government of the United States. As long as President Eisenhower made the decision to invite him here—and we must respect that decision—it is a pity that the Soviet dictator could not have come a few days sooner, so that he might have been among

the American people as they celebrate Labor Day. The gentleman is supposed to be ignorant of us and our ways, and the hope is that by visiting us and seeing us with his own eyes, he may be led to revise his erroneous ideas. Although some of us might question this assumption, suspecting that as the boss of the greatest espionage apparatus in the world he knows us better than we know ourselves, this is neither the time nor place to discuss the point.

So let us assume that our visitor

*A sermon delivered at a Labor Day Mass, Blessed Sacrament Cathedral, Detroit, Mich., September 7, 1959.

doesn't know the United States. What a shame, then, that his visit was not timed so that by some providential arrangement he could have been present in this sacred edifice as we offer to God the Mass of St. Joseph the Workman. Surely he would learn something here of the utmost importance: he would learn in a dramatic and unforgettable way that despite the dogmas of Marxism the Communist party is not the vanguard of the American working class. Here he would learn that the 17 million workers organized in the AFL-CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers and other independent unions repudiate him and all he stands for. Here he would learn the sobering lesson that if communism is ever to be established on these freedom-loving shores, it will have to be established as it was in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. It will have to be established, that is, by lies, treachery and the bayonets of the Red Army.

Glory of the Labor Movement

When this has been said, one of the most important things that can be said of the American labor movement has been said—at least implicitly. For its anti-Marxist character explains a number of things about the American labor movement. It explains, for instance, why it is that on the day set aside to honor the working people of this country we are gathered together around the altar of God, as thousands of other

workers and employers in churches up and down the land are similarly gathered. It explains, too, how it came about that, when the late Holy Father Pope Pius XII established the new feast of St. Joseph the Workman, the American bishops asked Rome for permission to celebrate it on the first Monday of September instead of the first day of May. To American workers the first of May has no special significance. It is a Marxist, not an American, holiday.

That is the glory of the American labor movement, which human weakness and perversity may tarnish but cannot destroy. Our labor movement is not, of course, a religious movement, any more than our political parties or our business and professional organizations are religious movements. But it is not an anti-religious or even an a-religious movement either. The principles it professes and the goals it seeks are happily in accord with the moral demands of religion. Through collective bargaining and in other ways, our unions aim at protecting the economic interests of workers and insuring them a decent standard of living. As Pope Pius XI reminded us nearly thirty years ago, that objective, far from hindering a life of virtue, helps and encourages it. The pursuit of justice in the economic field, as well as in all human activities, is so much approved by religion that in the beautiful Sermon on the Mount, as related in the Scriptures, our Lord Himself signaled out for a special blessing all those who hun-

ger and thirst after justice. And it is the pursuit of justice on which our unions are engaged.

Nor is it only the aims of the American labor movement which religion finds meritorious and praiseworthy. Equally laudable are the principles which guide our unions in the never-ending struggle for justice. Years ago the American labor movement, though tempted at times almost beyond human endurance, rejected a revolutionary solution to the social problem created by modern industrialism. Instead it defended private property. It defended free enterprise. It defended the right of free association. It defended a cooperative relationship between employers and workers. In a word, the American labor movement took its stand on principles which Catholics recognize as natural-law principles—on principles, that is, which Almighty God has impressed on our common human nature, and which the Holy See, going back to Pope Leo XIII in the last century, has tirelessly explained and stoutly defended.

It is this basic moral soundness of American trade unionism, together with its traditional respect for religion, that explains the absence among us of a Christian labor movement, such as exists in many European countries and elsewhere in the world as well. Our bishops have never deemed it necessary to discourage or forbid membership in American labor unions. They have never suggested that Catholics ought to form separate unions to preserve

the purity of their faith and the integrity of their morals. On the contrary, they have on numerous occasions shown a sympathetic interest in our unions; they have opposed attempts to undermine their security; they have appeared at their conventions, as Cardinal Spellman did, for instance, at the founding convention of the AFL-CIO, and there publicly invoked God's blessing on them. Just as there is no Marxist class warfare in this country, so there is no conflict between labor and the Church.

It is precisely because the American labor movement is what it is that two current developments are giving a great deal of concern to thoughtful people. One is the moral deterioration in a number of unions revealed over the past few years by the McClellan committee hearings. The other is what has been described as a certain hardening of management and labor attitudes.

The Corruption Issue

In the more obvious sense, the issue of corruption in organized labor, with the related issue of union dictatorship, represents a crisis in leadership. What has happened in too many cases is that leaders of labor have forgotten not only all they ever learned about the idealism of the union movement, but all they ever knew of the Ten Commandments of God. Some of these men have been driven in disgrace from the union movement. Some of them, however, are still clinging greedily to their jobs. De-

spite what has been happening in Congress, these men have no idea, seemingly, of the damage they are doing to the labor movement. If they had, and if there still dwelt in their hearts even a faint spark of their original devotion and loyalty to unionism, they would take the step that is so clearly indicated, and resign tomorrow. To the movement they have compromised and disgraced, their usefulness is at an end.

In a less obvious sense, the corruption issue, and more especially the democracy issue, reflect a widespread breakdown in trade-union citizenship. In numbers that can only be guessed at, rank-and-file unionists have adopted what has aptly been called a slot-machine attitude toward their organizations. This attitude assumes that a worker has discharged his full duty to his union when he has tendered his dues and paid his assessments. Once he has dropped his coin into the machine, he has a right to expect that the machine will spit out appropriate benefits. He has a right to expect, since he has paid for it, that the union will protect his job, service his grievances and win an annual increase in his wage rate and fringe benefits. Only when his leaders fail to deliver the goods does he become exercised over their performance. They might walk off with the Empire State Building, or appropriate half the gold in Fort Knox—it would make no difference to our slot-machine unionist.

Such an attitude on the part of

the rank and file provides a perfect atmosphere both for union corruption and dictatorship. Everyone is aware, of course, that in some cases which have been subjected to a Congressional spotlight the rank and file has been passive because it was healthy to be passive. It would be an injustice to many honorable men not to note that workers who have families to support are understandably concerned about remaining sound in life and limb. In unions dominated by racketeers, with their tough enforcers and shady lawyers, opposition requires a courage beyond the call of duty. For union members caught in such cruel circumstances, where even the law in all its majesty too often seems helpless, we should have only understanding and sympathy.

But most union members are not victims of these extreme circumstances. Many of them are encouraged to take part in the affairs of their locals, and some of them are fined if they don't. What about these workers? What can possibly be said in defense of their laziness, their apathy, their irresponsibility? In a democracy we rightly condemn the parasitic citizen who is too uninterested either to inform himself about issues and candidates or to go to the polls on election day. The union member who is indifferent to the affairs of his local, who assumes no responsibility for the conduct of its affairs, who is long on criticism but short on constructive suggestion and action is no less blameworthy than the parasitic citizen. Let it be

understood once and for all that workers have a God-given right to form trade unions and bargain collectively with their employers; but let it also be understood that workers who choose to exercise this right assume automatically all the obligations that accompany union membership. In some circumstances failure to discharge union duties is more than an act of disloyalty to trade unionism; it is a violation of God's law as well.

Labor-Management Relations

The second development that is causing concern today is a noticeable deterioration in labor-management relations. Perhaps the financial strains of the cold war, which are contributing to the inflationary pressures generated by World War II and the Korean War, are largely to blame, since these do add complications to collective bargaining. But surely the parties are not blameless either. Not all unions are responsible in their demands or disciplined in their conduct; and not all employers are distinguished for their fairness to workers and wholehearted acceptance of collective bargaining. In fact, there is some reason to believe that among employers as a group there is today less acceptance of unionism and collective bargaining than there was a decade ago.

Perhaps this is an appropriate time to remind ourselves of certain fundamentals, namely, that collective bargaining between free labor and free management is a moral as

well as a democratic imperative; that it must be carried on not primarily in terms of a power struggle, but rather in terms of justice and charity; that it assumes a good-faith relationship between employers and employees, who in the very nature of things are not enemies and antagonists, but friends and collaborators; that, finally, it imposes a duty on both parties to reach and observe agreements which are in the public, as well as in their private, interest.

Like democracy itself, collective bargaining is difficult. It demands intelligence, understanding, patience, curbs on selfishness and greed, devotion to duty and a sacred regard for one's pledged word. But just as democracy is the highest form of political life, so collective bargaining is the highest form of industrial life. As practised in this country, it should be one of the glories of our system of private enterprise—one of our proud proofs that free men, working together in trust and mutual respect, can achieve more, and achieve it better and more humanly and more happily, than slaves driven by the whips of Communist and other totalitarian bureaucrats.

The final outcome of the cold war depends under God's providence on many things. It depends on our willingness to support a huge defense establishment; on our ability to maintain strong alliances; on our intelligence and generosity in dealing with underdeveloped nations; on our courage in rooting out racial and other injustices at home.

And it depends, too, on the smooth functioning of our economic system. It depends on how efficiently labor and management produce and distribute goods and services, and on how constructively they organize their relationships. It is no exaggeration to say that American employers and workers are in the front-line trenches of the Cold War. In this deadly struggle, the institution of collective bargaining, along with our free institutions generally, is just as truly on trial today as it was during World War II.

For both labor and management, then, this should be a day of rededication to high ideals. It should be a day of re consecration to the moral law of God, which, even more than the law of the land, must govern their relationships. It should be a day of renewed devotion to their religious commitment, so that the light of their faith in God may bathe in its warm and creative glow the factories and mines, the buses

and trains, the stores and shops of our embattled democracy.

In a world inclined to cynicism, all this may sound like sheer idealism. It is sheer idealism: it is the idealism of the Manger at Bethlehem, the idealism of the Sermon on the Mount, the idealism of the Cross on Calvary. And it is the only force in all the world that can save this country and its free institutions in the darkest moment of its history. That is why all of us must strive, amid the trials and perplexities of life, to keep these ideals bright and shining and to translate them into glorious, everyday realities. That is the great challenge which confronts American workers and employers today—to show forth in their public lives the truths they profess in the secrecy of their hearts and the sanctuaries of their homes. In this high enterprise, may the grace of God help them, and may His richest blessings descend on them and remain forever. Amen.



Are We Worth Imitating?

Much as we are proud of the way we live, and what we stand for, and much as we would like to persuade other nations of the earth to follow us and to live the kind of life we lead, it can no longer be denied that the American Way of Life now includes many things that every American must be ashamed of. There is now no question that something is wrong with our society, and neither is there any question but that what is wrong is very basic. The only questions open to discussion enter upon which of our national weaknesses are causing the trouble, trouble which will destroy us if it continues to develop at its present rate.—*The AVE MARIA, September 19, 1959.*

It is indeed a tragedy that Catholic opinion in the United States has failed in a notable way even to know, much less to radiate, the principles of international brotherhood so brilliantly expounded by Pius XII.

World Federalism

*in the Mind of Pius XII**

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WHEN death called Pope Pius XII at 3:52 a.m. on Thursday, October 6, 1958, the world stood still in awesome admiration of the Pope of Peace whose ringing words and slender white-clad figure had become a unique and beloved symbol of stability and love during the previous two decades which had witnessed the worst upheaval in the history of the world.

On October 25, 1958—eighteen days after the death of the most international-minded of all modern Popes—the Catholic Association for

International Peace opened its 31st annual meeting. Some twenty of CAIP's annual gatherings had been held during the pontificate of Pius XII and it is not an exaggeration to state that his magnificent leadership in urging a true community of nations formed a large part of the inspiration of those dedicated men and women who have so developed and intensified the activities of the CAIP that it now stands as one of the most vital Christian groups in the entire English-speaking world.

There was occasion in last year's

*The keynote address at the 32 annual meeting of the Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D.C., October 23, 1959.

gathering of the CAIP to mourn the greatest international jurist and statesman of this century but his passing—so abrupt and so recent—precluded a quiet analysis of the legacy which Pius XII left to the family of nations concerning the urgency of their living together under a rule of love and of law. As the world grasps to understand and apply that legacy—lest it be plunged into a nuclear war more monstrous than imagination can portray—it is eminently fitting that the members of the CAIP, the legatees in a special way of Pius XII's bequest to mankind, contemplate and analyze that to which they are heir. Many times, of course, the participants in this most important of all Catholic organizations have pondered on Pius's call to a world order, a symbiosis of free states, based on love. In this call the late Pontiff echoes with new clarity and dynamic inspiration the Catholic tradition of the law of nations which enriches the pages of Aquinas, Suarez and all the moral theologians of the Church.

But now that the voice of this century's most respected diplomat and most beloved servant of peace is silenced forever, it is appropriate to consider what this gifted jurist stated concerning the Church's position on the growth and development of international juridical institutions. Aside from the obligation of always re-examining what the Papacy is teaching, the present re-appraisal has a special urgency in view of the fact that American Catholics seem

to manifest a massive reluctance to endorse any form of internationalism which requires the smallest surrender of American sovereignty.

The opinion of the Catholic community in America has by instinct and tradition never been fully in total sympathy with the world federalism advocated by the late Holy Father. It is indeed a tragedy that the Church in the United States, blessed with remarkable fidelity to the teachings of the Holy See, has failed in a notable way even to know, much less to radiate, the principles of international brotherhood so brilliantly expounded to the world by Pius XII.

The Pope and the War

It seems true to state that Cardinal Pacelli was startled by his election as Pope on March 2, 1939 in the shortest conclave since 1623. No Papal Secretary of State had been so elevated since 1667. The statements of Pius XII during the first few weeks of his pontificate seem to suggest that in all humility he felt unprepared to try to lead the Church and to guide the nations of the world away from the brink of disaster. The burden of virtually all of his messages during this time is an exhortation to Europe and to the world to preserve the peace by every available means. It is probably understandable that a Pontiff, who did not anticipate his election and who beheld before his eyes the imminent renewal of world war, did not immediately enunciate the

Church's position on a juridical world organization for peace.

But in the years to come—from March 2, 1939 to October 6, 1958—the Pope, destined by God to lead His Church during mankind's greatest upheaval, gradually and realistically evolved a detailed position on a world federation of nations which stands as a challenge to humanity and a rebuke to those all too numerous Catholics who have not relinquished their false notions of exaggerated nationalism and have thus failed to appreciate the mind of the Holy See on the most burning issue of our generation.

Let us review the evolution year by year of Pius XII's ideas on world organization. If we see chronologically how the late Pontiff reacted to events, we will then be in a better position to summarize and evaluate his over-all intellectual and spiritual legacy concerning the problem upon whose resolution depends the very survival of the human race.

The first message of Pius XII adumbrates the general themes which will make up the great symphony of this teaching. The morning after his election the Pope spoke to the world in moving terms of "the peace which joins nations . . . by friendly helping alliances."¹ On June 2, 1939, the Feast of St. Eugene, the Holy Father, speaking to the college of cardinals, solemnly offered the services of the Holy See to stay the "imminent eruption of force."² Touchingly he called for a crusade of prayer and placed "the white legions of . . . children in the

vanguard."³ On August 24, 1939 the Shepherd of nations urged upon the whole world that "nothing is lost with peace; all may be lost with war."⁴

As the world plunged into a war which His Holiness called "a terrible scourge of God,"⁵ the Pontiff initiated a long series of appeals to the belligerents to observe "the laws of humanity and to act in accordance with the stipulations of international agreement,"⁶ in connection with civilian populations, occupied territories and prisoners of war. He pleaded that "asphyxiating and poison gases . . . be excluded."⁷

The late Pope's first encyclical, timed to coincide with the Feast of Christ the King, is not merely a powerful denunciation of the omn incompetent state but suggests for the first time that, after "the cruel strifes of the present have ceased, the new order of the world, of national and international life, must rest . . . on the solid rock of natural law and Divine Revelation."⁸ This "solid rock" is the very essence of the Papal plan for peace; the nations of the world should join together not because they will thereby spare themselves grief but because God intended by the law of nature that the nations of the earth form one family. The Holy Father therefore rejects outright that pernicious positivism which had for so long dominated the field of international law—a positivism which, in a vicious circle, would deny the status of law to international agreements because there is no tribunal to enforce them

and deny jurisdiction to an international tribunal because the nations of the world are not willing to consent to any diminution of their sovereignty by submitting to the authority of an international court.

The first of Pius's 19 Christmas addresses looks ahead amid the chaos and calamities of the war and urges that, "in order to avoid . . . unilateral interpretations of treaties, it is of the first importance to erect *some juridical institution* which shall *guarantee* the loyal and faithful fulfillment of the conditions agreed upon . . ." (emphasis supplied).⁹ The Pope does not spell out the nature of this needed "institution" but does insist that it be able to "guarantee" its objectives.

During the early years of the war the Holy Father seemed to be too anguished over the millions of souls whose lives had been devastated to ponder deeply on the nature of a new international legal order. One does not think of a new family home while the flames still consume the home that one loves. The Holy Father expressed his tender concern for humanity and for the people of Germany, among whom he had spent so many devoted years, when he denounced the demand for unconditional surrender agreed to by the allied forces at Casablanca. Pius XII's tenderness for war prisoners, refugees and orphans found expression in addresses truly classical in their moving compassion for the victims of war. Many addresses assert repeatedly, of course, the *need* for a new inter-

national order but the specific *nature* of that order is not treated in detail.

As the war dragged on the Holy Father spoke from time to time of his hopes for a new order. On September 1, 1944, for example, the fifth anniversary of Hitler's attack on defiant Poland, the Pope stated that

an old world lies in fragments. To see rising as quickly as possible from those ruins a new world, healthier, *juridically better organized*, more in harmony with the exigencies of human nature—such is the longing of its tortured people (emphasis supplied).¹⁰

The Pope continued:

Since today . . . the desire to secure a new world-wide peace institution . . . is ever more occupying the attention and care of statesmen and people, We gladly express Our pleasure and form the hope that its actual achievement may really correspond in the largest possible measure to the nobility of its end, which is the maintenance of tranquillity and security in the world for the benefit of all.¹¹

With the famous 1944 Christmas address on democracy the Holy Father could be said to have entered a new phase of outlining his aspirations for a new world order. The message struck the world like a thunderbolt because, in the words of the document itself, "beneath the sinister lightning of war . . . the peoples have, as it were, awakened from a long torpor."¹² To avoid another war there must be, Pius XII stated, "the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public

authority" and this power must be vested "in the people." This democratic power calls for great "moral maturity" so that from the democracies of the world there will emerge an organization with an authority which "must be real and effective over the member states." The Pope, expressing by implication the hope that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals would be successful, goes on to state that

an essential point in any future international arrangement would be the formation of an organ for the maintenance of peace, of an organ invested by common consent with supreme power to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat of isolated or collective aggression.¹³

The call of the Pope for a "war on war" includes a call for

the threat of judicial intervention by the nations and of chastisement inflicted on the aggressor by the society of states, so that war will always be subject to the stigma of proscription, always under surveillance and liable to preventive measures . . .¹⁴

The Holy Father was sterner in this message than ever before when he outlawed "all wars of aggression as legitimate solutions of international disputes . . ."¹⁵

Five months after the ringing Christmas Eve message of 1944 the Pope exulted on V-E Day, May 9, 1945. He spoke on the radio in the most moving terms of the "molders and builders of a new and better Europe, of a new and better universe."¹⁶ Three weeks later the Holy

Father in an address to the College of Cardinals returned to the theme that the peoples of the world "claim the right to take their destinies into their own hands."¹⁷ With manifest deep interest the Pope stated that the "thought of a new peace organization is inspired . . . by the most sincere and loyal good will." He goes on:

What a bitter disillusionment it would be if it were to fail, if so many years of suffering and self-sacrifice were to be made vain, by permitting again to prevail that spirit of oppression from which the world hoped to see itself at last freed once and for all.¹⁸

The Pope and the United Nations

The words just cited were enunciated by the Holy Father as the United Nations Conference met in San Francisco. Forty-six nations participated but the Holy See was not invited. If the Holy Father was disappointed at the weaknesses inherent in the UN Charter, signed on June 26, 1945, he did not so indicate and in fact made no reference to the UN until January, 1946. On November 18, 1945 the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the annual message of the American hierarchy made clear the bishops' objections:

The charter which emerged from the San Francisco Conference, while undoubtedly an improvement on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, does not provide for a sound, institutional organization of the international society.

The Security Council provisions make it no more than a virtual alliance of the great powers for the maintenance of peace. These nations are given a status above the law. Nevertheless, our country acted wisely in deciding to participate in this world organization. It is better than world chaos. . . . In time . . . we may have a sound institutional organization of the international community which will develop not through mere voluntary concessions of the nations but from the recognition of the rights and duties of international society.¹⁸

By the summer of 1947 the limitations of the United Nations had become evident. The smaller nations in particular were dissatisfied with the domination of the great powers in the security council. Speaking to the new Minister of El Salvador, one of the world's smallest states, Pius XII urged the lesser nations not to "renounce the use" of the forum of the UN but to employ it "to prod the conscience of the world."¹⁹ This address along with several others exhorted nations to make every possible use of the UN while at the same time urging them to work for its strengthening.

On September 1, 1948 the Pope expressed his concern for the forthcoming sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations in these terms: "If an assembly of men, gathered at a critical cross-road in history, needed the help of prayer, it is this assembly of the United Nations"²⁰

In his 1948 Christmas message Pius XII returns to the UN and

expresses the following aspirations:

May the United Nations Organization become the full and faultless expression of this international solidarity for peace, erasing from its institutions and statutes every vestige of its origin, which was of necessity a solidarity in war.²¹

Although the Pope spoke almost as bluntly as the American hierarchy about the limitations of the UN, the Pontiff, like the American bishops, has repeatedly urged the fullest cooperation with this less than perfect world organization. The Pope in July 1951 stated:

We are happy to assure all the agencies and offices of the United Nations, destined to bring international assistance to the working man, that the Church is ever prepared to support their efforts with her most sympathetic collaboration.²²

Pius XII and World Government

After the deficiencies of the United Nations became ever more apparent the late Holy Father began to work, cautiously but clearly, to advance the ideas of world government or world federalism. In several statements His Holiness implied his dissatisfaction with the UN Charter and at least by implication stated that the UN was a series of compromises; that it ran counter to the ideas he had enunciated during the war; and that it had been weakened by the concessions made at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. But the Holy Father is never bitter; he never once called for anything even approaching a preventive war even

though almost one-sixth of the members of the Mystical Body were being martyred behind the Iron Curtain in the satellite nations.

The Holy Father was well aware on April 6, 1951 that the world federalists advocated the transformation of the United Nations by charter revision into an organization comparable to that which he himself had called for at Christmas of 1944, a body "with supreme authority and with power to smother in its germinal stages any threat of isolated or collective aggression."²⁸ Yet in an historic address on that day the Holy Father stated:

Your movement dedicates itself to realizing an effective political organization of the world. Nothing is more in conformity with the traditional doctrine of the Church. . . . It is necessary therefore to arrive at an organization of this kind, if for no other reason than to put a stop to the armament race . . .

His Holiness added only one qualification to his endorsement of the program of the world federalists:

You are of the opinion that this world political organization, in order to be effective, must be federal in form. If by this you understand that it should not be enmeshed in a mechanical unitarism again, you are in harmony with the principles of social and political life so firmly founded and sustained by the Church.²⁹

Pius XII's one qualification is that the structure of a world federation of nations must not be mechanical but organic and based on what he

would later call the "divinely-willed unification" of humanity.³⁰

It is significant to note that in late July of 1953 the Vatican Pro-Secretary of State, Monsignor Giovanni B. Montini, writing in the name of the Holy Father to the *Semaines Sociales* meeting in France, in strong terms rebuked Catholics insensible to admonitions of the Papacy. The letter read:

How many continue to shut themselves up within the narrow confines of a chauvinistic nationalism, incompatible with the courageous effort to start a world community demanded by recent Popes (emphasis supplied).³¹

On October 3, 1953 Pius, in an address to the International Congress of Penal Law, vigorously called for an international penal code and for a Court with jurisdiction reaching into individual sovereign states. On December 6, 1953 the Holy Father, in perhaps his most significant address on world government, asserted that:

The setting up of a community of peoples, which today has been partly realized, but which is striving to be established and consolidated on a more elevated and perfect level . . . is an ascent . . . from a pluralism of sovereign states to the greatest possible unity.³²

One can conclude from this that Pius XII felt that the UN had "partially realized" the desired "supranational juridical community" but that more was yet to be achieved before the world would witness "a higher community of men, [the one] willed by the Creator and

rooted in the unity of their common origin, nature and final destiny."⁹⁰ After a carefully balanced definition of true sovereignty the Holy Father enunciates a "fundamental theoretical principle for coping" with the difficulties in the "establishment, maintenance and functioning of a real community of states, especially one which would embrace all the peoples." The principle reads:

Within the limits of the possible and the lawful, to promote everything that facilitates union and makes it more effective; to raise dykes against anything that disturbs it; to tolerate at times that which it is impossible to correct but which, on the other hand, must not be permitted to make shipwreck of the community of peoples, because of the higher good that is expected from it.⁹¹

Pius XII and European Unity

While never retreating from the ideal of a truly juridical supranational organization Pius XII worked incessantly "to promote everything that facilitates union." He was especially active in encouraging anything that advanced European unity; he told members of the Nato college on November 3, 1955 that their work was an indispensable necessity in a "deeply divided world."⁹² On June 6, 1954 he inaugurated an all-European television network with a dramatic appeal for a "world community."⁹³ On November 10, 1955 the Pope told the delegates of 71 nations to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the UN that the "Holy See could not hold aloof from so

beneficial and necessary an undertaking" and expressed gratitude that the Holy See had been admitted in 1950 as a permanent observer at the FAO, "a status which it alone has up to the present."⁹⁴ In his Easter message of 1954 the Holy Father affirmed that he would "endeavor to bring about by means of international agreements . . . the effective proscription and banishment of atomic, biological and chemical warfare."⁹⁵ It seems important to point out that the Holy Father cooperated in and encouraged all these efforts towards peace even though they were not organized on a religious basis following that principle which he enunciated on another occasion: "Cooperation for the good of the community in institutions where God is not recognized expressly as the author and lawgiver of the universe" is not forbidden.⁹⁶

But the fearful "co-existence in terror," as Pius described the post-war world in his brilliant Christmas message of 1954, brought the attention of His Holiness back again and again to the limitations of the existing juridical machinery for the preservation of peace. On November 10, 1956, after witnessing a broken Hungary and an exploding Middle East, the Pope made an unprecedented radio appeal to governments and peoples "to bind closely in a solid public pact all those" who seek a peace worthy of the sons of God.⁹⁷ His eighteenth Christmas message spells out as never before the inadequacies of the United Na-

tions. In an address on December 23, 1956, relayed by Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America to all the conquered nations of Eastern Europe, the Vicar of Christ urges that the

exercise of their rights as members of this organ [the United Nations] be denied to states which refuse even the admission of observers, thus showing that their concept of state sovereignty threatens the very foundations of the United Nations.²⁴

After the disillusionment of Geneva and the intervention of Suez the Holy Father writes with unusual directness:

This organization [the UN] ought also to have the right and power of forestalling all military intervention of one state in another whatever be the pretext under which it is effected, and also the right and power of assuming, by means of a sufficient police force, the safeguarding of order in the state which is threatened.²⁵

The Pope goes on with specific directives:

... We desire to see the authority of the United Nations strengthened, especially for effecting the general disarmament which we have so much at heart. ... In fact only in the ambit of an institution like the United Nations can the promises of individual nations to reduce armaments be mutually exchanged under the strict obligation of international law. Only the United Nations is at present in a position to exact the observance of this obligation by assuming effective control of the armaments of all nations without exception.²⁶

It can be seen from the foregoing that Pius XII urged work for peace on three levels. First and most important, he untiringly reaffirmed the necessity of a supranational juridical world order based on the natural law. Secondly, he urged the acceptance of the United Nations but with ceaseless efforts to strengthen it. Thirdly, he advocated the fullest cooperation and collaboration with every agency that promotes international friendship. The late Pontiff was an unabashed internationalist. He desired and sought and prayed for a "future world political organization . . . true to the spirit of federalism."²⁷ At the same time he was using the influence of the Holy See to promote "the idea of a United Europe, the Council of Europe and other movements of the kind," which to Pius XII were "a manifestation of the world's need to break through . . . politically and economically the old rigid lines of geographical frontiers . . ."²⁸

Conclusions

Pius XII therefore very firmly committed the Holy See to the support of the basic principles behind the movement for world federalism. By asserting that the present legal machinery to preserve the peace is inadequate the late Pope has at least inferentially stated that the United Nations is a compromise solution among nations too jealous of their own sovereignty to form a union of nations which would be in fact a supranational federation out-

lawing war and giving juridical enforceability to the unity of mankind.

How has the Catholic world responded to the Pope's imperious demand for a new and "juridically better organized" world? How have American Catholics reacted to the challenge of Pius XII's statement that:

Catholics . . . are extraordinarily well equipped to collaborate in the creation of a climate without which a common action on the international plane can have neither substance nor prosperous growth. . . . There is no other group of human beings so favorably disposed in breadth and in depth, for international understanding . . . Catholics . . . above all . . . must realize that they are called to overcome every vestige of nationalistic narrowness. . . .¹

Do not Catholics therefore have a special mandate to continue on all three fronts the work of Pius XII? Do not Catholics, for example, have the obligation of insisting on the ratification by America of the Genocide pact, the repeal of America's reservation to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice enacted on the floor of the Senate in 1946 in the Connally Amend-

ment? And who can deny the duty of Catholics to work for the reorganization of the United Nations in order to make it more consistent with that world institution which Pius XII stated should have "supreme power"?

Time has not eroded but rather deepened the urgent necessity of implementing the commitments made by Pius XII and by the hierarchies of the entire English-speaking world. This distinguished body, the Catholic Association for International Peace, is met here today to explore and to analyze the greatest legacy it has ever received—the intellectual and spiritual teaching of the greatest jurist of our age. May its study be fruitful and its recommendations wise. And may its deliberations, which are of such enormous consequence to all mankind, be carried on in the spirit of the inspiring words of the late Pontiff of Peace: "The task confided to you by Providence in this crucial hour is not to conclude a weak and timid peace with the world but to establish for the world a peace really worthy in the sight of God and man."²

NOTES

¹ *Principles for Peace*, Msgr. Harry C. Koenig, Ed., Bruce, 1943, p. 554.

² *Ibid.* p. 570.

³ *Ibid.* p. 571.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 585.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 589.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 588.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 588.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 607.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 637.

- ¹⁰ *Papal Pronouncements on the Political Order*, Francis J. Powers, Ed., Newman, 1952, p. 172.
- ¹¹ *Catholic Mind*, 43, 66, 1945.
- ¹² *Ibid.* p. 73.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* p. 73.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 72.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 385.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 455.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 456.
- ¹⁸ Cited in *America*, 88, 230, Nov. 29, 1952.
- ¹⁹ Cited in "Pius XII and the UN," Msgr. Harry C. Koenig, *Catholic Mind*, 52, 143-148, March, 1954.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 147.
- ²¹ *Ibid.* p. 147.
- ²² Cited in *The Mind of Pius XII*, Robert C. Pollock, Ed., Crown, 1955, p. 89; *Catholic Mind*, 49, 708 ff. October, 1951.
- ²³ See "Catholics and Revision of the UN Charter," Edward A. Conway, S.J., *America*, 88, 230, Nov. 29, 1952.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 232.
- ²⁵ *The Pope Speaks*, 4, 196, 1957.
- ²⁶ "War and Peace at Pau," Robert A. Graham, S.J., *America*, 89, 497, 1952.
- ²⁷ Cited in "Pius XII on the 'Community of Peoples'," E. A. Conway, S.J., *America*, 90, 335-337, Dec. 26, 1953.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 335.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 336.
- ³⁰ *The Pope Speaks*, 2, 341-42.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* 1, 161.
- ³² *Ibid.* 2, 327-331.
- ³³ *Catholic Mind*, 52, 439.
- ³⁴ *The Pope Speaks* 4, 197, 1957.
- ³⁵ *America*, 96, 214, Nov. 24, 1956.
- ³⁶ *The Pope Speaks*, 3, 331, 344.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.* 344-5.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 348.
- ³⁹ Cited in Pollock, p. 86. Address to World Federalists, April 6, 1951.
- ⁴⁰ Address to First International Private Law Congress, July 15, 1950, *Catholic Mind*, 48, 754 ff., December, 1950.
- ⁴¹ Address of December 6, 1953, *Catholic Mind*, 52, 244 ff., April 1954, cited in Pollock, p. 81-82.
- ⁴² Address of Pius XII on the Feast of St. Eugene, June 2, 1947.

Social Problems and the Gospel*

JOHN XXIII

ON THIS bright day, to which the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph in the universal Church has been transferred as a special sign of his protection and example for all workers, We delight in feeling that you are particularly near to Our heart, beloved sons and daughters. The history of your association is recent; yet for the world of work the Church has always nurtured an ardent feeling of charity, which with you now has taken a special form, alongside of other manifestations of collective action, which are also noble and valuable.

You are dear to Our heart because We have seen in you the accomplishment of ideals which true forerunners of the present-day social renewal worked untiringly to realize, and with whom We came in close contact in the spring of Our priesthood. In beloved Bergamo, which was one of the first Italian dioceses to work out a courageous social program, at the side of the great shepherd of souls, the very beloved Bishop Radini-Tedeschi, We learned how to take the fate of the working people to heart. From his decisions and from his zeal We received the most eloquent proof of the maternal concern of the Church for those sons of hers.

We have always followed you with sympathy, although the service of the Church may have kept Us far from Italy. And when, with obedience, We accepted government of Our Venice, We were able to appreciate at close quarters and with increasing esteem, the work done by your Christian Associations of Italian Workers, with foresight and with fervor of intentions—a work, as We wrote last year to Our faithful, that is a strong and “renewed reminder for reflection, gratitude and imitation.”

*An address to members of the association of Italian Christian Workers, May 1, 1959.

In you We see all the working people of Italy and of the world who, believers and faithful sons of the Church like yourselves, are today celebrating the precious and sanctifying value of work.

We greet them all with fatherly enthusiasm; whether they accomplish their spiritual activity using the talents of intelligence and of culture; whether they use the strength of their arms in the service of society; workers in the fields and in the mines, in industry and in crafts, in the factories and in laboratories; those who work in the home and in shops, on rice plantations or in offices. All are equally dear to Our heart.

To the various branches of the vast working world go the attention and solicitude of your well deserving associations, which strive with blessed and meritorious effort to bring human labor even more deeply under the influence of the teaching and love of Christ.

In these years they have made promising progress worthy of encouragement and support, dedicating themselves with a generous spirit to the reblossoming of the working class into effective and constructive cooperation with employers in the reciprocal respect of mutual rights and duties.

Many were the activities undertaken to favor the workers, not by fomenting their discontent with futile words, but by helping them to solve their problems in the light of the Gospel, under the guidance of the teaching authority of the Church with her fundamental documents and in the spirit of Christianity which is firmness, liberty, respect of man and at the same time loyalty, charity, gentleness and patience.

With these principles and intentions your associations have prospered with the blessing of God and in progressive development which had its culmination on the day of May 1, 1955, when Our predecessor Pius XII, of venerated memory, dedicated it to the honor of Christian work, consecrating it to St. Joseph. Today you, therefore, celebrate the elevating and sanctifying nobility of work modeled graciously on the example of your heavenly patron.

This feast has for you a double character of thanksgiving and propitiation. Thanksgiving is due to the Lord for the help He has given you during the year, granting you enjoyment of the precious gifts of existence and of the family, protecting you against the dangers of the soul and of the body, turning to your spiritual advantage even the inevitable trials and bitternesses of life. May your thanksgivings then be raised to Him because, according to the first words of today's Mass of St. Joseph, He "rendered to the just the wages of their labors and

conducted them in a wonderful way and was to them a cloud by day and the light of the stars by night" (*Wisdom* 10: 17). To these sentiments of gratitude are added an act of propitiation for what may be waiting you in the future, whereby you ask of Him the gift of His continued heavenly protection and mercy, well aware that "unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it" (*Psalms* 126: 1).

In the strength of this conviction, you must abandon yourselves with full trust to Him, beloved sons and daughters. You know that man's true happiness, that happiness which endures in the midst of the painful trials of life, lies in never losing sight of the supreme goal. And while working with zeal to raise the standards of one's life to that level which befits the dignity of free sons of God, it is necessary constantly to raise one's soul to God and "to the heavenly longings."

May the words of the Apostle Paul read in this morning's Mass find an effective echo in each one of you: "And may the peace of Christ reign in your hearts . . . Whatever you do in word or in work, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God the Father through Him. Whatever you do, work toward Him from the heart, as for the Lord and not for men, knowing that from the Lord you will receive the inheritance as your reward" (*Colossians* 3: 15, 17: 23-24).

Courage then, beloved sons and daughters! The Lord is with you! In the same way as He has blessed your associations in the past, so He will know how to carry you forward "with a strong hand and with an extended arm" (*Deut.* 5: 15).

Know then that the Pope is with you. Echoing the encouraging words of Pius XII, of venerated memory, spoken in the audience granted to you on May 1, 1956, We say to you: "Muster solidly around your peaceful flags, for which there already seems to be smiling, rich with well-founded promise, a splendid future. The Christian Associations of Workers carry within themselves a living and intrinsic force which, fully deployed, will contribute effectively toward hastening the hoped-for event of real social peace. The Christian workers, moved by the eternal principles and drawing from faith and from grace the gentle strength to overcome obstacles, are probably not far from the day when they will be able to act in the nature of guides in the midst of the world of labor" (*A.A.S.* 23 [1956] 290).

This day must come about with the almighty help of the Lord, and with your generous collaboration. Be convinced of it, beloved sons and daughters. Much, very much depends on you. In the application of the

Gospel and of the social teaching of the Church, there is contained the force that can alone build, in truth and in charity, the world of Christian work. Unfortunately, not all Catholic workers are convinced of this divine force that they have on their side, and because of their lukewarmness and timidity they do not work for the salvation of so many of their brothers. Unfortunately, on the part of some there is a sad misunderstanding, as We wrote to Our sons in Venice in August, 1956, "and therefore the danger that there penetrate into peoples' minds the specious axiom that in order to bring about social justice; to aid the needy of all kinds and to impose respect for the tributary laws, it is absolutely necessary to associate with those who deny God, and with the oppressors of human freedom and even bow to their whim. This is false in premise and disastrous in application." (Cfr. *Reminders and Encouragements to the Venetian Clergy and Laity*, pp. 7-8).

Do not fear then, beloved sons and daughters! Your mission is great and beneficial. Therefore, ply the talents with which God has entrusted you so that you may hasten the full noon, already preannounced by your bright and promising dawn, in which Jesus will mark by His gentle active presence the reality of the social world.

With the power proper to truth, go out to all wherever there are intelligences to be enlightened, wills to be strengthened, energies to be channeled toward good; wherever there are tears to be dried, uncertainties to be overcome, solitudes to be enlivened. With gentleness, meekness and patience approach the distant brothers who probably conceal a wounded heart behind their negation, which is in need of love and of understanding. Make them understand that it is not in hate that the solution of their problems is to be found, that the secret of the renewal of the world is not to be found in the triumph of the anti-Christian ideologies, but in the voluntary, coherent and decisive practice of the Holy Gospel, lived by all even with personal sacrifice.

There is still a lot to be done. We know it well, because there reaches Us daily the painful cry of so many of Our Sons, who ask for bread for themselves and for their dear ones, who seek work, who ask for definite security. Our thoughts, Our affection go out first to those men embittered by unemployment and insufficient work. Therefore, to them must go the common solicitude. And We trust that with opportune provisions and prompt care the difficulties may be solved, providing them with the due and necessary source of maintenance and of family peace.

For them, as well as for all the workers of Italy and the world—

especially for those who endure the heaviest kind of work—We invoke the help and the consolation of God, the gifts of material prosperity and of spiritual peace, through the intercession of your Patron Saint.

O glorious Joseph! who concealed your incomparable and regal dignity of custodian of Jesus and of the Virgin Mary under the humble appearance of a craftsman and provided for them with your work, protect with loving power your sons, especially entrusted to you.

You know their anxieties and their sufferings, because you yourself experienced them at the side of Jesus and of His mother. Do not allow that they, oppressed by so many worries, forget the purpose for which they were created by God. Do not allow the seeds of distrust to take hold of their immortal souls. Remind all the workers that in the fields, in the factories, in the mines, and in the scientific laboratories, they are not working, rejoicing or suffering alone, but that at their side there is Jesus, with Mary, His mother and ours, to sustain them, to dry the sweat of their brow, giving value to their toil. Teach them to turn work into a very high instrument of sanctification as You did.

Trusting that Our words may find in your heart a generous response of affection and of holy resolutions, We strengthen Our fervent wishes with Our pastoral Apostolic Benediction, which We impart with all Our heart to you, to your families, and together with a special tender thought, to your children, to the places sanctified by your work, to your colleagues, to the very worthy Bishops, Our venerable brothers of the episcopate who have accompanied you today and who follow you with their pastoral solicitude, and to the deserving directors and zealous assistants of the Christian Associations of Italian Workers.

* * *

On Rural Life*

JOHN XXIII

WE EXPERIENCE great joy in addressing to you Our paternal welcome and blessing, dear sons and daughters of the Italian National Confederation of Independent Farmers, who in these days

*An address to the participants in the 13th Congress of the Italian National Confederation of Independent Farmers, April 22, 1959.

celebrate the 13th national congress, and the sixth congress of the Groups of Rural Women and Young Farmers. In contemplating, in fact, your number, so great, in looking at you one by one, We recapture the serene face, though stamped with such weariness, of the good people of the fields with whom We have been familiar since infancy.

Our thought returns today with particular force to that rural world, full of memories and sweet impressions—the first, providentially, We had had. And your presence here bears for Us the full significance of good things and of dear people. But Our satisfaction today has still another reason. This is the first time since the Lord chose to call Us to the responsibilities of the Supreme Pontificate that We Ourselves meet with you in an audience reserved especially for you.

In this first meeting, Our pleasure goes out through you to all the thousands of independent farmers, who, in more than 13,000 district sections of the confederation, give an example of unity and good will. In you the Pope sees and embraces all the farmers of the beautiful and fruitful countryside of Italy, who today are spiritually present here with you.

Next October your well-deserving confederation will count 15 years of existence. What a magnificent road it has traveled in such a short time! How many peaceful and informative declarations has it brought out each year, all directed toward the more complete protection of your work, for your technical instruction, for your needs, even the domestic ones, for your future itself, supported in all these activities by your always warm cooperation.

Looking back over your annals, especially in reading the wise discourses given you by Our predecessor Pius XII, who held you all so dear, one has the clear documentation of the stages covered with sure steps, and of the hope which the Holy Church has placed and places in you. In such a manner even in your field, there prove true the incisive words of "*Rerum Novarum*," in which Leo XIII encouraged the formation of Christian associations of workers.

There is also before you the approbation which Pius XI gave to the associations for having formed "workers sincerely Christian, who knew well how to combine the diligent practice of their fields of work with the healthy precepts of religion, and how to defend with efficacy and firmness the proper interests and temporal rights, but observing the due reverence for justice, and the sincere intention to cooperate with

the other classes of society for the Christian renewal of the whole of the social life" (*Quadragesimo Anno*, A.A.S. 23 [1931] 187.)

Therefore, above all there arises the need for devout thanks to God for the continual help with which He has chosen to bless your confederation, making it today one of the useful and beneficial forces at the service of individual and of the national life.

Moreover, new problems always present themselves for your attention and they require intelligence, perseverance and precision if they are to be solved. Your congress assumes this year particular importance because of the magnitude and urgency of the questions under consideration, particularly that connected with the forthcoming and active entrance into the Common European Market, along with the complex questions that it entails, which require ordered adjustment to the new requirements so that one will be prepared for the evolution which is already under way.

Also of profound significance for you is the study of a better balance between the income from your property and the weight of state taxes—problems which We hope would be resolved according to the far-sighted counsels of Christian social teaching and in respect to the existing agricultural situation. Also, the major concerns of the two national congresses of the Groups of Rural Women and of the Young Farmers have great human and Christian value.

We do not intend to enter into a lively discussion of these problems. Yet yielding to that sentiment which We feel so deeply in Our heart for you, We wish to offer you several thoughts, which, with the help of God, may be able to make clear the pursuit of your mission.

Beloved sons and daughters! We say to you in the first place: Love the earth. This is the sweet and strong link, beyond that of the family, which binds you closely to your places of birth or of work and which contains so many memories which one hands down like a holy inheritance from one generation to another. But it is true that cultivating the earth involves fatigue and pain in consequence of original sin, as does every activity depending on human strength. It is also true that the return the earth gives is now and then unequal to the work put in, forcing one often to search in the city for an existence with more immediate economic advantages, although they are not always secure.

While, therefore, We trust that by means of continued study of rural problems, and with the generous good will of all whose duty

it is to provide immediate solutions, one may overcome the daily difficulties, We nevertheless say to you: Love the earth, a generous and severe mother who holds in her womb the treasures of Providence. Love her, particularly today, when a dangerous frame of mind is spreading and enveloping the most sacred values of man, that you may find in it the serene framework for the development and safeguard of your complete personality; love it because through your contact with it, through the nobility of your work, it will be easier for you to improve your mind and raise it to God.

This love does not, however, mean a placid and improvident preserving of ancient methods no longer suited to new demands: It means a study and application of the new processes of farming and of work in the constant rhythm of continued progress. In regard to such an idea, We find the theme of the meeting of the youth groups very opportune. It seeks to "underscore the power of the young to insure that the farms have ample energies and that they will progress." The words of the motto "Try, Produce, Progress," are very appropriate. The motto is offered to the good will of the better prepared young men to spur them on to find in their land the reasons for loving it always more, as the scientist loves his precision instruments and continually perfects them for new and beneficial conquests.

If Our invitation to love the land is addressed to all farmers, in a special way it is addressed to the youth, to whose strong hands, to whose ready intelligence and to whose enterprising spirit are entrusted the continuity and progress of rural life and therefore also of the whole national life.

Love the family! This is the second thought We offer you. Without this love there would not be the full significance of what We have just told you. The love of the earth can only be understood and appreciated as part of the love for one's own family in which lies the secret of the integrity and the strength of each nation. The exodus from the land wounds the rural family as a direct consequence, sometimes bringing a mentality and habits which are harmful to the family institutions.

What a fine spectacle is, instead, offered by the contemplation of the marvelous picture of innumerable families, the jealous custodians of the most genuine and strictly Christian virtues, where the father is the firm and sure guide, the example of honesty, of hard work, of sacrifice; where the mother, like an industrious bee, in silence accomplishes and is sustained by the trust of God in the hard task of educator and worker;

where the bold young people, more open and frank because of their contact with nature and thus more protected against dangers, grow pure and strong, the hope and consolation of their parents; where the little ones "like olive plants around your table" (*Psalm 127: 3*) bring joy to the home, bringing with them the blessings of the Lord. It is not an imaginary picture which We have drawn. Instead it is a reality and, thanks to God, it still lives. Of many proofs of this We Ourselves are the grateful and emotionally stirred witness.

Therefore, love the family! We address Ourselves particularly to the rural women, whose congress dealt with so many delicate problems. The desired improvement of working conditions and of income, the effort for spiritual and cultural betterment, must be aimed here solely for the perfect realization of family life. Therefore, may your glory and your holy ambition be to have a healthy, honest and hardworking family that may be an example by its spirit of piety and of kindness to all as well as by its happy harmony, tempered by trials, through which practical collaboration in the effort of attaining a higher standard of life is easier.

For Our last thought We say to you: Love the Church! Throughout the centuries, she has always found among the people of the land the sound and capable material with which she has formed the greater part of her priests and of her saints. In recent centuries, with the dimming of the splendor of the Faith and of "thinking with the Church," esteem for the high gift of ecclesiastical and religious vocations has been lost in other social classes while the contribution of the land to the order of the priesthood has been and is irreplaceable. In the same way, as an obvious consequence, great has been the number of saints chosen by the Lord from rural families, like the most perfumed flowers. We would not have enough time to number them all. It suffices Us to recall, due to circumstances which touch Us closely, the saintly Curé of Ars, the centenary of whose death is celebrated this year; Don Bosco, to whom a church here in Rome is to be dedicated shortly; and St. Pius X, temporarily transported in the midst of jubilation of praying crowds to his beloved Venice.

Therefore, preserve unchanged this precious heritage of the spirit of religion which is your greatest treasure! Love the Church, her bishops and her priests. Be an active member of it, participating with profound and joyous awareness in its life. Be an example in all of the manifestations of parish life. Nourish always the desire to know better

the maternal teaching of the Church, which can give you a reassuring answer to your questions. Be fervent supporters of her social doctrine, from which you can derive clear light and norms.

Beloved sons and daughters! If there lives in you the love of the land, the family, the Church, the greatest peace will fill your hearts and the blessings of the Lord will descend abundantly on you, in the same way that the beneficial morning dew restores your fields, and your flowers enhance it. We invoke this outpouring of heavenly gifts on your activities, on your hopes, on the toil of your daily life. And in pledge of it, We impart to you, to your distant families, and with special tenderness to your children and your old folks, as well as to the leaders and associates of your confederation and to those people linked with you by work and by friendship, Our paternal and comforting Apostolic Blessing.

* * *

Labor, Management and the National Welfare*

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

POPE JOHN XXIII, whose transparent goodness and open-hearted simplicity have so quickly won for him the admiration and affectionate esteem of the greater part of mankind, has already found time, despite his extraordinarily heavy schedule of official duties and appointments, to deliver at least two major addresses on the subject of labor. The second of these two talks was the more significant, if only because of its greater length and solemnity. It was a very fatherly message of encouragement and, like all of the Holy Father's sermons and public statements, profoundly optimistic in tone. Its purpose was not to rebuke or chastise the wayward few, but rather to congratulate the faithful majority of workers on their devotion to duty and to the cause of social justice and to assure them of the Holy Father's warmly sympathetic interest in their personal welfare, material as well as spiritual.

This address was delivered to a large gathering of workers who had come to Rome on May 1 of this year to observe the Feast of St. Joseph

*The Labor Day statement of the Social Action Department, NCWC, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., September 4, 1959.

the Worker, which coincides on the Continent with the traditional European Labor Day. "In you," His Holiness said, "we see all the working people of the world. . . . We greet them all with fatherly enthusiasm, whether they accomplish their spiritual activity using the talents of intelligence and of culture; whether they use the strength of their arms in the service of society; workers in the fields and in the mines, in industry and in crafts, in the factories and in laboratories; those who work in the home and in shops, or rice plantations or in offices. All are equally dear to Our heart."

"Do not fear, then, beloved sons and daughters," His Holiness counseled his listeners. "With the power proper to truth," he continued, "go out to all wherever there are intelligences to be enlightened, wills to be strengthened, energies to be channeled toward good; wherever there are tears to be dried, uncertainties to be overcome, solitudes to be enlivened. With gentleness, meekness and patience approach the distant brothers who probably conceal a wounded heart behind their negation, which is in need of love and of understanding. Make them understand that it is not in hate that the solution of their problems is to be found, but in the voluntary, coherent and decisive practice of the Holy Gospel, lived by all even with personal sacrifice."

These characteristically hopeful and encouraging words of Pope John XXIII, which, though addressed to a particular European audience, were in reality meant to apply to all the workers of the world and to employers and management representatives as well, provide us with an appropriate introduction to this annual statement on the meaning of our own distinctively American Labor Day. We use the word "appropriate" here advisedly, for if there is one thing that is sadly lacking and badly needed at the present time in the field of labor-management relations in the United States, it is that note of cheerful Christian optimism which so markedly characterized the Holy Father's first major address on the subject of labor. For lack of such Christian optimism—solidly based on confidence in the grace of God and manifesting itself in genuine respect for the dignity and sincerity of our fellowmen—we are in danger, it would seem, of becoming cynical about the future of labor-management relations in this country. That is to say, there has recently been so much bickering and controversy in the field of collective bargaining, and we have become so preoccupied with the seamy side of labor-management relations that we are beginning to

question or doubt "the power proper to truth" and to sneer at the many evidences of solid goodness and integrity which are all around us.

In more practical terms, this means that labor and management, having become unduly suspicious and distrustful of one another's motives, are being strongly tempted to rely on economic force and political pressure and on public relations stratagems and propaganda gimmicks as a substitute for good-faith collective bargaining and labor-management cooperation. If any substantial number of employers and labor leaders succumb to this temptation and become cynical or disillusioned, they will live to rue the day. Cynicism in any field of human relations is a negative and destructive force. If permitted to go unchecked in the crucial area of industrial relations, it will cancel out much of the progress which has been made in recent years and will almost certainly compel the government, under any political administration, to discipline labor and management more severely than ever before and to assume more and more responsibility—ultimately too much responsibility from the point of view of sound social ethics—for the orderly and successful operation of our national economy. This would be a calamity not only for labor and management, but for all the people of the United States, whose economic welfare and political freedom so largely depend on the successful functioning of our industrial relations system in an atmosphere of voluntary labor-management cooperation.

We do not wish to exaggerate the danger of our becoming cynical or overly pessimistic. While the danger, in our opinion, is more real than imaginary, it is being counteracted, to some extent at least, by a growing tendency on the part of many responsible labor leaders and employers to put the practice of collective bargaining on a higher moral plane and, more specifically, to recognize that it must somehow or other be made to serve the public interest more effectively. Obviously there is still a great deal of room for improvement in this regard. Nevertheless we fully agree with the authors of a recent scholarly treatise on collective bargaining when they say that "within the house of labor and the management community an increasing number of influential leaders are beginning to ask the important moral questions" and that "this is at least the first step toward the formulation of the right answers."

This annual Labor Day Statement has only one purpose and a very limited one at that—namely, to encourage labor and management to continue to follow the latter course of action in spite of many provo-

cations to the contrary and to remind them, in the words of the Holy Father, that it is their "vocation to help one another and to serve one another in charity, with patience . . . following the example of our Saviour."

In previous years our Labor Day Statements have been concerned with specific and rather controversial problems in the field of industrial relations. We offer no apologies for confining ourselves this year to a purely spiritual message and for ignoring almost completely the technical aspects of the problems currently confronting us in this field. We have done so deliberately to underline our conviction that, when all is said and done, our principal labor-management problems at the present time are basically moral problems.

We are confronted today with at least a minor crisis in the field of industrial relations, as witness, for example, the cynical hardening of attitudes between labor and management to which a number of expert observers have recently called attention. This crisis, in our opinion, will not yield to purely technical solutions. Technical improvements in the field of labor legislation are admittedly desirable and possibly even necessary. They will accomplish very little, however, unless the responsible leaders of labor and management at every level of authority are convinced that they have a moral responsibility to deal with one another sincerely and generously in a spirit of mutual respect for one another's rights and, equally important, with a deep sense of their joint responsibility for safeguarding and promoting the public interest. In other words, the only adequate solution to the crisis currently confronting us in the field of labor-management relations is a profound renewal of moral and spiritual values, which, of course, will never come to pass unless employers and workers throw themselves on the mercy of God in a spirit of humble prayer.

In summary, the advice which we would give to labor and management as they jointly observe this national holiday is very simple. In the words of Pope John XXIII, we would encourage them "to be faithful to God's law, in the constant fulfillment of His holy will" and "to be always apostles of goodness, of gladness, and of good will. . . ." This may not seem to be very "practical" advice at a time when labor and management are confronted with so many difficult problems of a controversial nature. But more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of. Prayer alone, of course, will not and should not be expected to provide us with a workable solution to all of our practical problems

in the field of labor-management relations, but surely it is our first and most compelling duty and our only certain guarantee of success in the fulfillment of all our other obligations. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Justice," Our Lord Himself has instructed us, "and all these things shall be added unto you."



The Good Samaritan

Accepting the role of good Samaritan towards the peoples of other nations is a role so new that many refuse to believe that in peacetime the people of one country should or could help to bear the burdens of another country. And there are many who flatly deny that there can be anything but self-interest which could impel one nation to become Good Samaritan to another nation. Alliances of mutual aid and action in time of war are understandable. But in such alliance each nation involved is usually warding off a real danger to itself. The world became accustomed to the might of America in a war which unleashed forces of destruction never before imagined. To some it does not seem to be equally understandable that, when hostilities were over, America returned to her traditional task of placing her resources at the service of the needy and dispossessed, and employed her productivity and energy in a world-wide battle against famine, pestilence, homelessness and want.—FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN *on the occasion of the centenary of the founding of the North American College, Rome, October 13, 1959.*

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